

PAUL'S GLORY-CHRISTOLOGY

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

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PAUL'S GLORY-CHRISTOLOGY

Tradition and Rhetoric

BY

CAREY C. NEWMAN



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For Leanne

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PREFACE

Every research project has its own "story" with plots and subplots. This work is no exception, and I would now like to thank those who helped shape its narration.

This monograph reflects a revision, extension and, in some cases, rethinking of a dissertation submitted to Baylor University in 1989. The idea for the study of Glory in Paul was first suggested to me by Professor C. E. B. Cranfield (actually he suggested a study of Glory within the structure and theology of Romans--a study still awaiting attention). The precise line of argumentation of the dissertation (and thus of this book), however, was most profoundly influenced by its director, Robert B. Sloan. Though I have at times taken leave of his sound council and insight, I have done so only reluctantly. I now find it a considerable honor to record publicly my indebtedness and gratitude to him.

My appreciation goes to the members of my doctoral committee who supervised my research. Naymond Keathley not only served as first reader, but he, as my advisor, steered me through the labyrinth of a graduate program. James Barcus' contribution extends far beyond the confines of this work, for he introduced me to a whole new world of criticism.

I want also to thank all who not only listened to my ideas, but sacrificed time to read various portions of the manuscript. These include W. H. Bellinger, Jr., Ronald E. Clements, Bruce Corley, James Kennedy and Mikael C. Parsons. In this regard, Jan Jaynes Granowski must believe that she was cursed by the gods when she was assigned a carrel with me. Time and time again she was subjected to the role of "first reader." A special word of thanks is due to those who have given encouragement, advice and criticism in the process of revision: Larry W.

Hurtado, Jarl Fossum, Robert M. Brian and Alan F. Segal deserve special mention.

I will forever be thankful for the generous financial support I received during my research--both personal and institutional. Robert A. and Grace H. Newman, my parents, should receive a hefty crown someday for their unfailing support during the (what certainly must have seemed to them) near interminable days of education. The Eddie Dwyer Fellowship and the Lloyd R. Phillips Award enabled me to continue research during the lean years of graduate school. I am especially indebted to three institutions for their support of my work. I thank President Roy H. Honeycutt and Provost Larry McSwain, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for naming me a Visiting Professor in the summer of 1991. Without the vigorous intellectual climate and research facilities at Southern, I would have never completed the revision process in a timely fashion. President Herbert H. Reynolds and Vice President James S. Netherton further indebted me to Baylor University by graciously making available the Computation Center to produce the final draft. Finally, I am grateful to President Paul R. Corts and the community of faith at Palm Beach Atlantic College for the support and encouragement given to me. In this regard, I should also mention the personal interest of the college's late President, Claude H. Rhea, who made available funds for part of the revision process.

I would be remiss if I did not thank the helpful staff at Moody Library, Baylor University. In particular, Barbara Cantrell always went out of her way to make sure I received the material I needed. The same can be said for Melody Mazuk, Boyce Library, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, who mystically made lost journal volumes appear *ex nihilo*.

Some of the material contained in this book was originally made public in other forums. Parts of nearly every chapter formed the basis of papers read at regional, national and international meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature from 1988 to 1990. I am thankful for the many who listened,

encouraged and criticized the ideas presented in these papers. Part of chapter five first appeared in *Opus* 1 (1990/1991); parts of chapter nine can be found in *MOSAIC* 25 (1992) and the *Evangelical Quarterly* (forthcoming). I kindly thank the editors for permission to use the material, though in each case much of the text has been altered.

I am thankful to those who have helped in the preparation and printing of the final draft--Sarah Nördine, Ralph J Brabban, MaryAnn Taylor-Harwell, Tony Hoffman, Susan Halasz, Angela Bailey, Anthony Lapes, Noël Russell and the many students who helped with the indices (especially Chuck Whiteside).

Finally, to my wife, Leanne Lewis Newman, who sacrificed the first years of marriage for this work, I not only offer words of apology and appreciation, but also of promise. Though she wished numerous times to invoke the rule of academic double jeopardy, she instead, when faced with another evening at home alone, raised her hand and commissioned me (in love) to go and "take no prisoners." Without her this work would not have been possible or meaningful. I therefore find it a joyful *ὀφειλή* to dedicate this book to her.

Despite all who have attempted to save me from myself, I alone must assume responsibility for the errors of logic and presentation which remain. I take courage when I remember that Luther instructed us to sin boldly.

11 October 1991
West Palm Beach, Florida
USA

Carey C. Newman

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by W. Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972-
AOS	American Oriental Series
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . 2 vols. Edited by R. H. Charles. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
AusBR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BK	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
BNZW	Beihefte zur ZNW
CahRB	Cahiers de la RB
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish
	Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
CNEBC	Cambridge New English Bible Commentary

<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Etudes bibliques</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>FOTL</i>	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HNT</i>	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
<i>H/BNTC</i>	Harper's/Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . 4 vols. Edited by G. A. Butterick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , Supplementary Volume. Edited by K. Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> . 4 vols. Edited by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979-1988
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JANESCU</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNTSS</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSS</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KD</i>	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
MeyerK	H. A. W. Meyer, <i>Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament</i>
<i>NAC</i>	New American Commentary
<i>NCBC</i>	New Century Bible Commentary
<i>NICNT</i>	New International Commentary of the New Testament

NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> . 3 vols. Edited by C. Brown. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975-1978
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Old Testament Message
<i>OTP</i>	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . 2 vols. Edited by James A. Charlesworth. Garden City: Doubleday, 1983
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studien</i>
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et esprit</i>
SE	Studia Evangelica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism of Late Antiquity
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	Studia Post-biblica
<i>St Th</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Judean Desert
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>TD</i>	<i>Theology Digest</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . 10 vols. Edited by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

PAUL'S GLORY-CHRISTOLOGY: A TEST CASE FOR READING PAUL

In 1927 C. A. A. Scott remarked that the "history of the word Glory (δοξα) in the Bible has still to be written."¹ This seemingly innocuous statement appeared in a section of Scott's book entitled "Side-Lights on St Paul's Christology."² Scott's inclusion of Glory in a discussion of Paul's Christology, even if reduced to the status of a "side-light," hints at the existence of a Glory-Christology within Paul's theology.

There remain still certain ideas which St Paul brings into relation with Christ, which contribute something, and it may be something important, to our understanding of his Christology. They are represented by the words σοφία, δόξα, and λίθος (Wisdom, Glory, and Stone).³

Scott, in his all-too-brief analysis, concludes: "it is difficult to resist the conclusion that for St Paul also the Glory was an equivalent for Christ."⁴

The attention Scott gives, albeit scant, to δόξα in Paul is not without justification; on sheerly a numerical basis the word group merits attention. In its various forms, δόξα occurs some ninety-six times in the letters attributed to Paul.⁵ The order of

¹ Charles A. Anderson Scott, *Christianity According to St Paul* (Cambridge: University Press, 1927), 267-68: "The history of the word Glory (δόξα) in the Bible has still to be written. When it is written it will probably be found that, like many other Scriptural expressions, it starts from a conception which is physical or material, something which appeals to the senses, and ends as a conception which is predominantly ethical."

² Ibid., 263-70.

³ Ibid., 263.

⁴ Ibid., 268.

⁵ Scholarship almost unanimously accepts seven of the thirteen letters as being from the hand of Paul (Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians,

frequency is as follows: δόξα (77 times), δοξάζω (12 times), ἔνδοξος (2 times), ἐνδοξάζομαι (2 times), and συνδοξάζω, κενόδοξος and κενοδοξία (1 time each). By books, the order of frequency is as follows: Romans and 2 Corinthians (22 times each), 1 Corinthians (15 times), Ephesians (9 times), Philippians (7 times), 2 Thessalonians (5 times), Colossians (4 times), Galatians, 1 Thessalonians and 1 Timothy (3 times each), 2 Timothy (2 times) and Titus (1 time). Philemon is the only letter in the Pauline tradition in which the word group is not found.⁶ Scott's interest in the word, however, was not merely statistical, but one which revolved around δόξα as a Christological term.

Paul entitles Christ "the Lord of Glory" (τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης, 1 Cor. 2:8). Paul declares "that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ" (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Eph. 1:17a) is the "Father of glory" (ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, Eph. 1:17b), thereby paralleling Jesus and δόξα.

Paul connects key events in Jesus' life with Glory. Glory raised Jesus from the dead (ἡγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης, Rom. 6:4; cf. ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ, 1 Tim. 3:16). As the resurrected and exalted Lord, Jesus possesses a body of Glory (σώματι τῆς δόξης, Phil. 3:21). The future parousia of Jesus will be an apocalypse in Glory (φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν

Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians and Philemon). Three others are debated vigorously--Ephesians, Colossians and 2 Thessalonians. I, for one, no longer regard the Pauline authorship of Ephesians and Colossians as a tossup; for arguments in favor of Pauline authorship, see my *Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (NAC 31; Nashville: Broadman, forthcoming). On the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians, consult F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (WBC 24; Waco: Word, 1982), xxxii-xlvii; Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids/Exeter: Eerdmans/Paternoster, 1990), 17-66. The Pauline authorship of the Pastorals is another issue altogether. While I do think they are Pauline (following the form, literary and historical arguments of E. Earle Ellis, "Traditions in the Pastoral Epistles," *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* [ed. C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring; Decatur: Scholars, 1987], 237-53), I will bracket the evidence for the many who do not, and in no place will my argument depend solely upon the Pastorals being Pauline.

⁶ *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament. Band II: Spezialübersichten* (ed. K. Aland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 78-79, 98-99, 264-65.

δόξη, Col. 3:4; cf. ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης, Tit. 2:13), in which sinners will be judged and believers transformed (οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, 2 Thess. 1:9-10). Glory legitimized the new covenant established by Jesus' life, death and resurrection (ἡ διακονία ... ἐν δόξη, 2 Cor. 3:8, 9). Paul argues this Glory possesses a final, eschatological character (ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης, 2 Cor. 3:10).

Jesus reveals and mediates Glory. The knowledge of Glory is discovered in Jesus (τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 4:6). The saving deeds of Jesus make known the mystery of Glory, hidden from the ages past, to all the nations (γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, Rom. 9:23; γνωρίσαι τί τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Col. 1:27a). The gospel which Paul preaches--a gospel which features the death, resurrection and future coming of Jesus--is a "gospel of glory" (τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 4:4; cf. τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης, 1 Tim. 1:11).

Incorporation into Christ transfers Glory to the believer. In salvation, God calls the believer to Glory (τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ δόξαν, 1 Thess. 2:12; cf. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σωτηρίας τύχωσιν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ δόξης αἰωνίου, 2 Tim. 2:10). Paul defines the eschatological goal of salvation as obtaining the Glory of the exalted Christ (οὗς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν, Rom. 8:30; εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Thess. 2:14).

Paul characterizes the pneumatic life of transformation into the resurrection likeness/image of Christ as a metamorphosis of Glory (μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, 2 Cor. 3:18). God enables and sustains transformational progress by the Glory of Christ (ἵνα δῶ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, Eph. 3:16; ὁ δὲ θεὸς μου

πληρώσει πάσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Phil. 4:19; ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι κατὰ τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, Col. 1:11). At the parousia of Jesus, God will culminate transformation by conforming the believer's earthly body to Christ's resurrection body of Glory (ὅς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης, Phil 3:21). The believer, as does all creation, longs for final transformation into the Glory of Christ (ὅτι καὶ αὕτῃ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom. 8:21).

The indwelling of the exalted Jesus confirms future glorification: the Christian therefore lives in the certain hope of Glory (καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom. 5:2; ὁ ἐστὶν Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης, Col. 1:27b). Despite present suffering, God certifies that sharing Christ's Glory will eclipse any suffering experienced in the earthly life (λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς, Rom. 8:18); indeed, (ironically) present suffering produces future Glory (εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν, Rom. 8:17; τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν, 2 Cor. 4:17).

As even such a cursory reading of Paul's Glory language indicates, Scott (and others⁷) appears justified in considering δόξα as a Christological term: Paul closely connects Christ with

⁷ For similar summaries, see Freiherrn von Gall, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes: Eine Biblisch-Theologische Untersuchung* (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Töpelmann, 1900), 96-102; Heinrich Schlier, "Doxa bei Paulus als heilsgeschichtlicher Begriff," *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus* (2 vols; AnBib 17-18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), 1:45-56; Gerhard Kittel, "Δόξα," *TDNT*, 2:233-37, 242-53; S. Aalen, "Glory, Honour," *NIDNTT*, 2:44-52; Otto Kuss, *Der Römerbrief* (2 vols; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1978), 2:609-19; H. Hegemann, "δόξα, ης, ἡ," *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 1:344-48.

δόξα, a connection which borders on outright identification. Δόξα thus functions synonymously with other key Christological terms, e.g., εἰκών, μορφή, δικαιοσύνη, σοφία and λόγος.⁸ As one of the words which the apostle collocates with θεοῦ and Χριστοῦ, δόξα partakes of a field of symbols Paul uses to construct his apocalyptic Christology.⁹ Like the signifiers "image," "form," "word," "wisdom" and "righteousness," Paul employs Glory to define the eschatological significance of Jesus.

What the survey of texts presented above does not make clear, however, is how and why Paul came to identify the risen Christ with δόξα. What was it that allowed him to make such a bold association? Though Paul's use of δόξα has not been a "storm center" in scholarship as (say) "the Law in Paul," when the question is framed around the background, origin and implications of Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα, Scott's cryptic and largely ignored remarks do impinge upon three rather controversial areas of Pauline research.

(1) Scott observes that δόξα "has a history," and the "history" of δόξα is important for reading Paul. Scott even points to a particular part of δόξα's history which exerted (primary?) control upon Paul's usage, i.e., "the meaning developed in the inter-canonical literature."¹⁰ Scott points to 1 Enoch and Sirach as the key subtexts for Paul's use of δόξα.

⁸ Helmuth Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes: Studien zu Geschichte und Wesen eines Neutesamentlichen Begriffs* (BZNW 16; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1934), 191-221; A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1949), 46-52, 148-51; Friedrich-Wilhelm Eltester, *Eikon im Neuen Testament* (BZNW 23; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1958), 22-25, 130-33, 155, 165-66; Jacob Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen. 1,26 im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und bei Paulus* (FRLANT 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 180-96, 324-31; Ralph P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (2d ed; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 103-118.

⁹ J. Christaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 16, 148, 362-63.

¹⁰ Scott, *Christianity*, 268.

Since the work of James Barr, the historical study of a word or phrase as an entrée into the theology of a biblical author has fallen on hard times.¹¹ Specifically, Barr sought to lay bare the methodological problems associated with "word-concept"--i.e., the so-called "word-study"--approach to doing biblical theology, as evinced in many of the articles in Kittel's *Wörterbuch*. To be sure, Barr's critique of scholarship was accurate and long overdue, but it did not pronounce last rites upon an essential task in biblical studies, namely, the diachronic investigation of religious-theological words and phrases. Research into the "history" of a word or phrase has yielded essays, articles and monographs which have borne much scholarly fruit.¹² What Barr did do, though, was to force historical investigations into theological words or phrases to pay heed to the canons of linguistic theory. Unlike previous studies on the background of Glory in Paul,¹³ the investigation which follows integrates the synchronic principles of semantics and semiotics, and, more generally, literary theory, into the diachronic reconstruction of the Glory tradition.¹⁴

¹¹ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: University Press, 1961); idem, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Bib* 49 (1968): 377-97.

¹² For example, on "righteousness/justification" language in Paul, see Ernst Käsemann, "The 'Righteousness of God' in Paul," *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 168-82; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (2d ed; FRLANT 87; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (SNTSMS 5; Cambridge: University Press, 1967), 82-162; J. A. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Enquiry* (SNTSMS 20; Cambridge: University Press, 1972).

¹³ G. H. Boobyer, "Thanksgiving" and the "Glory of God" in Paul (Borna-Leipzig: R. Noske, 1929); Johannes Schneider, *Doxa: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie* (NTF 3; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932), 87-114; Kittel, *Herrlichkeit*, 192-238; Millard J. Berquist, "Meaning of Doxa in the Epistles of Paul," (Ph.D. diss.; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1942); Maurice Carrez, *De la souffrance à la gloire: De la doxa dans la pensée paulinienne* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestle, 1964).

¹⁴ For the theoretical foundations of the semantic and semiotic principles employed in this study, consult the following: F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (ed. C. Bally, A. Secheahye, and A. Riedlinger; London: Duckworth, 1972); Stephen Ullmann, *Semantics: An Introduction*

(2) Hendrikus Boers has criticized J. Christiaan Beker's dynamic coherence-contingency model of reading Paul.¹⁵ Boers charges Beker with failing to plumb deeply enough for Paul's primal point of coherence: Beker's "deep structure" (the triumph of God in Christ) and "surface structure" (the range of apocalyptic symbols) are only intermediate levels (secondary and tertiary) in Paul's thinking.

The problem arises because he [Beker] refers to only the second and third levels, but especially because he refers to the structure of Christian apocalyptic as a "deep" structure, whereas it is in reality an intermediate structure. He may not be willing to recognize structure in the "Christ event" or the "primordial experience" of Paul's call, but if they do not provide coherence to Paul's thinking, nothing Beker's proposed symbolic structure can do will rescue Paul from incoherence. Exactly the opposite is the case.¹⁶

According to Boers, Beker can only preserve coherence, and thus salvage his model for reading Paul, by recognizing structure at the "deepest level"--i.e., what Boers calls Paul's "Christ event" and what I shall refer to as Paul's Christophany.

Coherence in Paul's thought is dependent on that deepest level, not Beker's intermediate level. Even if what he calls Paul's "symbolic structure" lacks coherence--and I have no doubt that it does--the coherence of his thought could still be guaranteed by the deepest level

to the *Science of Meaning* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970); Jacques Lacan, "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter,'" *Yale French Studies* 48 (1972): 38-72; Terrence Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Jonathan Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); Marianna Torgovnick, *Closure in the Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York: Vintage, 1984).

¹⁵ Hendrikus W. Boers, "Foundations of Paul's Thought: A Methodological Investigation--The Problem of the Coherent Center of Paul's Thought," *St Th* 42 (1988): 55-68. Cf. Beker, *Paul*, 3-22; idem, "The Method of Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contingency Scheme as Interpretive Model," *SBLSP* 25 (1986): 596-602; idem, "Paul's Theology: Consistent or Inconsistent?" *NTS* 34 (1988): 364-77; idem, "Paul the Theologian: Major Motifs in Pauline Theology," *Int* 43 (1989): 352-65.

of the Christ event, and Paul's primordial experience of it. *That* is where the issue of coherence in Paul's thought must be addressed.¹⁷

For his part, Boers ultimately rejects the Christophany as the point of primal coherence and, following Daniel Patte,¹⁸ suggests that the irreconcilable differences between Paul's "social" and "existential" universes of discourse demonstrate "inconsistency" as Paul's "deepest" structure. Though Boers is wrong, as will be suggested, about inconsistency being the "deepest" structure in Paul's theological agenda, his observations about the programmatic role of the "Christ event," Paul's Christophany, merit further consideration.

The idea that an experience, i.e., the Christophany, should figure into Pauline *Wissenschaft* disturbs modern sensibilities. But its *literary* coordination with resurrection and apostleship imbues the Christophany with a powerful signifying potency: the Christophany is an important variable in Paul's narrative-theological equation. In his work *Paul the Convert*, Alan F. Segal argues that Paul's Christophany is *the* central element in understanding Paul's theological utterances.¹⁹

Further, and at the heart of this study, Segal argues Paul's conversion consisted in a revelation of God's end-of-time presence, his Glory, in the resurrected Jesus. Segal points to the importance of the long exegetical-mystical tradition depending on Ezekiel 1:26-28, the appearance of the man-like כבוד יהוה, for Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα.

The theological implications of this hypothetical identification are staggering. Is Paul's Christianity rooted in the identification of Jesus with the Glory of God (the Hebrew *Kavod*), God's sometimes human appearance in the visions of the Hebrew Bible?²⁰

¹⁶ Boers, "Foundations," 58-59.

¹⁷ Ibid., 59 [emphasis mine].

¹⁸ Daniel Patte, *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel: A Structural Introduction to the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

¹⁹ Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

²⁰ Ibid., 11.

Though not attempting to explain all of Paul's Christianity by it, the revelation of δόξα in Paul's Christophany, I shall argue, is one way to refer to the "deepest level" in Paul's theological enterprise. By focusing on one of Paul's apocalyptic surface symbols, δόξα, this study explores how a diachronic approach can connect the linguistic universe which Paul inherited with Paul's Christophany to provide a coherent reading of Paul.

(3) Like many of Paul's other Christological terms, Glory in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and Jewish literature of the Second Temple period could be used as a sign both to denote and connote divinity and divine agency.²¹ But Paul's conviction that Jesus is God's Glory is not merely an intellectual association. Paul's identification of Jesus with Glory bordered on, if not expressly implied, binitarianism, and therefore ran the risk of compromising the monotheistic center of his Jewish heritage. As with μορφή and εἰκών, in his use of δόξα Paul was flirting with religious apostasy.²²

This *religionsgeschichtliche* observation sharpens the sociological edge of Paul's specific and contingent utterances: like other elements in Paul's theologizing, his Glory-Christology correlated with his membership in the Christian community,²³ and thus was employed by him in the task of defining the world view of Christianity as over against other (more traditional?) ways of expressing Judaism(s). What Paul believed about Jesus went a long way in showing where he planted his feet in the

²¹ On definition and implications of the conceptual category of "divine agency," see Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). Cf. D. Steenburg, "The Worship of Adam and Christ as the Image of God," *JSNT* 39 (1990): 77-93; A. E. Harvey, "Christ as Agent," *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament: Studies in Christology in Memory of George Bradford Caird* (ed. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright; Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 239-50.

²² Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 185.

²³ Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 164-93.

fertile, first-century social landscape of apocalyptic Judaism.²⁴ Paul's Glory-Christology therefore grants insight into Paul's rhetorical strategy: how did Paul marshal an apocalyptic surface symbol (δόξα) to draft a "word-on-target"? To sum up: an investigation into the tradition-historical background, the Christophanic origin, and rhetorical implications of Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα thus becomes an excellent exercise in unraveling the knotty problem of how to read Paul.

This investigation involves three distinct tasks: (1) to plot the tradition-history of Glory which formed part of Paul's linguistic world; (2) to examine Paul's letters, in light of the reconstructed tradition-history of Glory, in order to discern the rationale of Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα; and (3) to map out the implications of such an identification for Paul's theological-rhetorical strategy. The study naturally falls into three parts.

Part I chronicles the Glory tradition in the Jewish scriptures. Chapter Two comprises a structural semantic analysis of יהוה כבוד in the Hebrew Bible and lays the foundation for understanding יהוה כבוד as a technical term. Chapter Three argues for the crystallization and development of the Glory tradition at the beginning of the Davidic monarchy. By addressing kingship, creation, blessing and worship, the Glory tradition powerfully spoke to those who were experiencing the social change associated with the growth of monarchy. Chapter Four examines the prophetic reinvestment of the Glory tradition to address the crisis of exile. In the hands of the prophets, God's כבוד, a sign of approval in a Royal theology, came to resignify judgment and hope. Glory also figured prominently in the call narratives of the prophets: the prophets were confronted by God's כבוד and their prophetic mission was defined by כבוד. Based upon the analysis of the Hebrew Bible texts, the Glory tradition can be organized into several fairly distinct construals--Sinaitic, theophanic, Royal and prophetic.

²⁴ Alan F. Segal, "Dualism in Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism: A Definitive Issue," *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (BJS 127; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 1-40.

Part II charts the development of the variegated Glory tradition in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period. Chapter Five demonstrates that Glory figured prominently in the "throne visions" of early Jewish apocalypses and explains this phenomenon by the pervasive influence of Ezekiel's vision of the manlike *כבוד יהוה*. But the long exegetical/mystical trajectory stemming from Ezekiel's call vision was not the only construal of the Glory tradition to be preserved and nourished during the Hellenistic era. Chapter Six traces other apocalyptic developments of Glory in early Jewish literature (i.e., the Sinaitic, theophanic, Royal and prophetic Glory construals). By using semantic field theory, Chapter Seven examines the implications in the choice of *δόξα* for translating *כבוד* in the Septuagint (LXX). Because *δόξα* in Greek literature formed part of the semantic field of words associated with light terminology, visionary revelations and divine "epiphanies," the choice of *δόξα* for *כבוד* satisfied the criterion of intelligibility, while at the same time preserving the distinctiveness of the Hebrew Bible's descriptions of God's self-manifestations.

Part III turns to Paul's letters to discover (1) how and why Paul came to identify Christ as Glory, and (2) how such identification functioned in the theological-contextual equation preserved in his letters. Chapter Eight performs a semantic analysis of *δόξα* in Paul. Such an analysis demonstrates the Christological character of Paul's Glory language and delimits the data for investigation. Chapter Nine examines how Paul acquired his Christologically defined Glory language. According to Paul's letters, the Christophany is the origin of his identification of Christ as *δόξα*. Chapter Ten explores the theological-rhetorical power of Paul's Glory language. By focusing on one of Paul's apocalyptic symbols, this chapter models how a diachronic approach can connect Paul's linguistic world, Christophany, theological pattern and the contingent situations for which he drafts a "word-on-target."

To anticipate the conclusions: based upon this study, four working proposals for reading Paul are reached. (1) Paul

inherited a symbolic universe with signs already "full" of signification. (2) Knowing the diachronically acquired connotative range of a "surface" symbol aids in discerning Paul's precise contingent strategy. (3) Knowing the "surface" symbol's referential power defines and contributes to the "deeper structure" of Paul's theological grammar. (4) Finally, in this test case, the construals of the Glory tradition-history coalesce in Paul's Christophany and provide coherence at the "deepest" level.

PART ONE

FROM KINGS TO PROPHETS

CHAPTER TWO

SOME SEMANTIC OBSERVATIONS ON GLORY IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

The first task of this investigation is to trace the tradition-history of Glory (כבוד-δόξα). Before embarking upon the diachronic analysis, it will be helpful to set out some synchronic, semantic data concerning Glory in the Hebrew Bible. The goals of the semantic analysis are (1) to indicate something of the meaning of the collocation "Glory of the Lord" (כבוד יהוה), and (2) to lay preliminary groundwork for understanding כבוד יהוה as a technical term.¹

The כבוד word group appears about four hundred times in the Hebrew Bible (depending on textual readings), and possesses a notoriously wide range of meaning.² Jan de Waard and Eugene Nida have helpfully sketched the semantic range of the word

¹ The present investigation seeks to focus attention upon syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships of כבוד יהוה as it appears throughout the Hebrew Bible. For a summary of structural semantic principles as applied to biblical materials, see James Morris Kennedy, "A Structural Semantic Analysis of Selected Biblical Hebrew Words for Punishment/Discipline" (Ph.D. diss; Drew University, 1986), 11-31; idem, "The Root G'R in the Light of Semantic Analysis," *JBL* 106 (1987): 47-64.

² G. Henton Davis, "Glory," *IDB*, 2:401. On the breadth of כבוד's semantic range, consult the following: Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 457-59; Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (3 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1967, 1974, 1982), 2:434-35; Claus Westermann, "כבוד," *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (2 vols; ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann; Munich/Zurich: Chr. Kaiser/Theologischer, 1984), 1:794-812; Friedrich Noetscher, "Heisst Kabod auch 'Seele'?" *VT* 2 (1952): 358-62; Jeffrey H. Tigay, "'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue': on Moses' Speech Difficulty," *BASOR* 231 (1978): 57-67; J. S. Kselman, "RB/KBD: A New Hebrew-Akkadian Formulaic," *VT* 29 (1979): 110-14; Wilfred G. E. Watson, "Hebrew 'To Be Happy'--An Idiom Identified," *VT* 31 (1981): 91-95.

group.³ De Waard and Nida divide the כבוד word group into four categories: (1) quantity (without value judgment); (2) inertia (with and without value judgment); (3) culturally valued features; (4) quantity (with negative value judgments). De Waard and Nida understand the meanings of the word group as arising out of the background of the Hebrew people: in a nomadic culture a large quantity of substance could be either a sign of wealth or an inconvenience--thus explaining the culturally valued and culturally negative uses of כבוד and the probable lines of derivation. The analysis of de Waard and Nida (1) oversimplifies the data, (2) indicates lines of etymological development which may or may not be accurate, (3) fails to depict lines of semantic reinforcement⁴ and (4) suggests only fourteen meanings of the word group. Table 1 therefore reflects modifications of de Waard and Nida's analysis.

As Table 1 shows, the כבוד word group possesses a fluid semantic range. This study, however, focuses upon just a small slice of the כבוד's meaning: namely, those places where כבוד (both denotatively and connotatively) is used as a symbol of "divine presence."

The phrase "Glory of the Lord" (כבוד יהוה) appears thirty-six times in the Hebrew Bible.⁵ Seven times כבוד is collocated with names for God other than יהוה (six times with אל,⁶ and once with אלהים⁷). The contexts indicate אל כבוד possesses the same semantic value as כבוד יהוה (cf. Ezek 10:18 with 10:19 and Ezek. 11:22 with 11:13)--though it is doubtful the same could be said

³ Jan de Waard and Eugene A. Nida, *From One Language to Another: Functional Equivalence in Bible Translating* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1986), 163-64.

⁴ Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 211 (especially n. 25).

⁵ Exod. 16:7, 10; 24:16, 17; 40:34, 35; Lev. 9:6, 23; Num. 14:10, 21; 16:19, 42 [17:7]; 20:6; 1 Kgs. 8:11; 2 Chron. 5:14; 7:1, 2, 3; Psalms 104:31; 138:5; Isa. 35:2; 40:5; 58:8; 60:1; Ezek. 1:28; 3:12, 23; 8:4; 10:4 (2x); 10:18; 11:23; 43:4, 5; 44:4; Hab. 2:14.

⁶ Psalms 19:2 and 29:3; Ezek. 9:3; 10:19; 11:22; 43:2.

⁷ Prov. 25:2.

TABLE 1
THE SEMANTIC RANGE OF כבוד

noun	verb	adjective
positive:		
bounty	multiply	rich
wealth	be wealthy	
blessing		
exalted	exalt	
respect, honor	give respect, be respected, be well known	
praise, worship	worship	
life, salvation	get victory, rescue	
wisdom, intelligence		
obedience	succeed	
beauty	distinguish	
presence of God	reward	
heaven		
greatness		
strength		
neutral:		
weight	be heavy	heavy
possessions	multiply	abundant
soul	test	
manifest	thick	
negative:		
burden	burdensome	difficult
	make difficult	weary
	impaired	sinful
	sin	grievous
	harden	severe
		troublesome
		aged, old

for כבוד אלהים, where the meaning of כבוד is "advantage" or "benefit."⁸

The occurrences of the phrase כבוד יהוה can be divided into two mutually exclusive syntagmatic profiles. Probably the most striking construction involves the joining of כבוד יהוה with "movement" terminology. Eleven times כבוד יהוה is said to have "filled" (מלא) the tabernacle, earth, house/temple, or the court (of the temple).⁹ But the movement of כבוד יהוה is not limited to "filling." כבוד יהוה is said to "settle" (שכן), "rise, go up" (זרח, עלה) over people and places, "come, arrive," "enter/depart" (בוא, יצא) or merely to "stand still, be over" (עמד) something or somewhere.¹⁰

The movement to and fro, up and down relates Glory to various spaces where Yahweh is thought to be (visibly) present--i.e., Mount Sinai, the tabernacle, the temple, objects of the temple (chiefly the cherubim), the court of the temple and the city which houses the temple, Jerusalem. The only exception is when Habakkuk promises the "earth will be filled (מלא) with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord" (2:14); but even here the context implies that the cosmos functions as a temple which Yahweh will fill with his כבוד יהוה. כבוד יהוה also relates to special people who are thought to be closely associated with Yahweh's presence--people such as Moses, the priests, King Solomon and the prophets (especially Isaiah and Ezekiel). The closely circumscribed group of people function as "sacred mediators" because of their intimate contact with Yahweh's כבוד.

Movement implies visibility, and thus a second group of passages relate כבוד יהוה to appearance/sight terminology. In each of the fourteen times when כבוד יהוה is said to have

⁸ C. H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899), 459; R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 18; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 155.

⁹ Exod. 40:34, 35; Num. 14:21; 1 Kgs. 8:11; 2 Chron. 5:14; 7:1, 2; Ezek. 10:4b; 43:5; 44:4.

¹⁰ Exod. 24:16; Isa. 60:1; Ezek. 3:23; 9:3; 10:18; 11:23; 43:2, 4. Though no verbs are employed in Ezek. 3:12, 10:19 and 11:22, they should be understood.

"appeared," the same Hebrew verb is employed (ראה).¹¹ Glory "appears" in and at places where Yahweh's presence is expected--e.g., "in a cloud," "on top of Mount Sinai," "at the door of the Tent of Meeting" and "over the temple"--and "appears" to the "whole assembly" or "congregation," "all the children of Israel," to others outside of Israel, or, more generally, to "all flesh." Close analysis reveals, in contrast with passages where the movement or mobility of כבוד יהוה is highlighted, (1) כבוד יהוה does not "appear" in the place where Yahweh is thought to be, but only at its periphery or edge, and (2) כבוד יהוה "appears" to many more people than just the "sacred mediators." These sorts of consistent semantic distinctions, which appear in various literary traditions, argue for a technical status of כבוד יהוה.

The semantic antonym for כבוד יהוה would then be the "absence," "departure" or "disappearance" of Yahweh's כבוד. The news of the ark's capture by the Philistines--the symbol of Yahweh's presence with Israel--led the wife of Phinehas to name her child אֵי-כבוד, "the Glory had departed from Israel" (1 Sam. 4:21-22).¹² When the prophet Ezekiel observes Yahweh's כבוד outside the temple and the city, the larger context indicates the "absence" should be related to Yahweh's regular "presence" in the "normative" sacred space of the Jerusalem temple. Hosea, too, speaks of the "departure": Yahweh's כבוד will "fly away like a bird" (9:11-12; 10:5-6).

Though customarily associated with a closely circumscribed set of words (i.e., movement-sight-space-person terminology), a few times כבוד יהוה is used with other syntagma. Even here, however, movement and/or sight implications are not totally absent. When Yahweh theophanically "arrives," the Psalmist

¹¹ Exod. 16:7, 10; 24:17; Lev. 9:6, 23; Num. 14:10; 16:19; 16:42; 20:6; 2 Chron. 7:3; Isa. 35:2; 40:5; Ezek. 1:28; 8:4.

¹² 1 Sam. 4:21-22; cf. 1 Sam. 14:3. On the textual problems with these two vv., see P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation, with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 115-16; Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 57; Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 75-77.

declares כבוד אל "thunders (רעם) upon the waters" (Psa. 29:3).¹³ Isaiah 58:8 promises כבוד יהוה will accompany Israel's return from exile, acting as a "rear guard" (אסף) for the people. Looking at creation allows one to perceive the presence of God, for the heavens declare the כבוד אל (Psa. 19:2). In two texts Glory is described: seeing כבוד יהוה is like seeing a "fire" (אש, Exod. 24:17) or a rainbow-like "brightness" (כאש, Ezek. 1:28).

Other linguistic formulations share similar semantic behaviors to כבוד יהוה. The pronominal and nominal constructions employing כבד, when Yahweh is the referent, are also associated with movement and visibility terminology.¹⁴ In many instances, however, the pronominal and nominal constructions behave quite differently: כבוד "sanctifies" (קדש, Exod. 29:43), is something Yahweh "gives" (נתן, Isa. 42:8; 48:11), is something for which man is "created" (ברא, Isa. 43:7), is to be "feared" (ירא, Psa. 102:16; Isa. 59:19), is depicted as a canopy of a cloud, smoke and fire (עשן, ענן, אש, Isa. 4:5) and is the object of proclamation (נגד, 1 Chron. 16:24; Psa. 96:3; Isa. 66:19). The conclusion: כבוד יהוה behaves in a more restricted manner than any of the pronominal constructions. Though certainly similar to the collocation כבוד יהוה, the pronominal and nominal constructions employing כבד, when Yahweh is the referent, are much more plastic than כבוד יהוה. This observation also argues for understanding כבוד יהוה as a technical term.

כבוד יהוה should also be compared with other formulations which employ יהוה in a construct relationship. Here again significant distinctions can be made. In the Hebrew Bible, יהוה is collocated with one hundred or more words.¹⁵ יהוה can be

¹³ Cf. Psa. 104:31.

¹⁴ Exod. 33:8, 22; Num. 14:22; Deut. 5:24; 1 Sam. 4:22; Psa. 26:8; 29:9; 57:6, 12; 63:3; 72:19; 97:6; 102:17; 108:6; 113:4; Isa. 4:5; 6:3; 60:2; 66:18, 19; Ezek. 3:23; 39:21; 43:2.

¹⁵ Solomon Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae hebraicae Atque Chaldaicae* (2 vols; Graz: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1955); Gerhard Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Privileg. Wurt. Bibelanstalt, 1958); John W. Ellison, *Nelson's Complete Concordance of the Revised Standard Version Bible* (2d ed; New York: Thomas Nelson, 1957).

collocated with words from several linguistic domains: people (prophet[s], servant[s], enemies, assembly, people, sons, priesthood, blessed, young men, tribes, beloved, desired, craftsmen, congregation, ransomed, ministers, army); places (vineyard, garden, land, vestibule, courts, way, land, house, hill, Mount); things (trees, lamp, vessels, treasury, holy things); time (nights/days, holy day, feasts); emotional/character and/or anthropomorphic terms (sight, voice, eyes, hearing, ears, mouth/breath, arm, hand); and most of the "Torah" words (law, commandments, word, will, charge, precepts, instruction, book, thoughts, ordinances, Sabbath laws, purpose, testimony counsel, way and knowledge). These domains and collocations neither denote nor connote Yahweh or his visible, mobile "divine presence."

Attributes of Yahweh (e.g., anger, dread, love, wrath, indignation, goodness, vengeance, righteousness, terror, zeal, joy, power) are not associated with "movement" or "appearance" terminology. Even symbols of "divine presence" which are associated with "movement" and "appearance" terminology behave significantly different than כבוד יהוה. "Fire of the Lord" (אש יהוה) is most often syntactically associated with verbs of destruction (בער, אכל).¹⁶ The pronominal and nominal constructions employing "fire," when Yahweh is the referent, also indicate significant syntactic discontinuity: while Yahweh is thought to dwell in the fire, Yahweh is never said to be located in כבוד.¹⁷ The construction "cloud of the Lord" (ענן יהוה) relates to leading/guidance terminology.¹⁸ Even when "fire" and "cloud" are syntagmatically related to the same sorts of places and people

¹⁶ E.g., Num. 11:1, 3; 1 Kgs. 18:38; 2 Kgs. 1:12; Job 1:16; Patrick D. Miller, "Fire in the Mythology of Canaan and Israel," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 256-61.

¹⁷ E.g., Exod. 3:2; Deut. 5:4; Psalms 50:3; 79:5; Isa. 30:27; 33:11.

¹⁸ E.g., Exod. 40:38; Num. 10:34; cf. Job 37:15; see also the pronominal and nominal constructions: Exod. 14:24; 16:10; 19:9; Num. 12:5; 1 Kgs. 8:10; 2 Chron. 5:13; Neh. 9:12; Psalms 105:39; Lam. 3:44; Ezek. 10:3, 4; Thomas W. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions: The Typology of Exaltation* (Baltimore/London, Johns Hopkins University, 1977), 252-61.

as כבוד יהוה is, distinctions are still present: "fire" and "cloud" often precede the arrival of כבוד, or כבוד appears "in the cloud" or "as a fire"; never is it said that the "fire" appears as "glory." Other "divine presence" terms such as "form" (תמונה, צלם), "name" (שם), "majesty" (הוד, הדר, גאות), "face/presence" (פנה) and "angel" (מלאך) are rarely collocated with יהוה and generally behave quite differently than כבוד יהוה.¹⁹ Simply stated, כבוד signs Yahweh's presence in ways that other linguistic formulations do not.

To summarize: כבוד יהוה is almost always associated with either "movement" or "appearance" terminology. כבוד יהוה does not denote, at least in the first instance, a character or an attribute of יהוה. Neither is the meaning of כבוד יהוה exhausted by "fire" or "brightness"--terms used to describe the "appearance" of כבוד. Rather, the collocation כבוד יהוה signifies the visible and mobile presence of Yahweh. כבוד יהוה's close association with special places (places where Yahweh is commonly depicted as being present) and special people (people who are especially close to Yahweh) confirms this conclusion. The closely circumscribed number of syntactic constructions bears witness to the technical nature of כבוד יהוה. When compared with its paradigmatic field, כבוד יהוה again shows distinctiveness--while כבוד's pronominal and nominal constructions possess a significant amount of semantic overlap, כבוד יהוה possesses little semantic overlap with other constructions within its paradigmatic field. With this semantic data in hand, the task ahead is to trace the formation and development of the Glory tradition.

¹⁹ Cf. Deut. 33:26 where God (not Glory) rides the clouds; Isa. 26:20: "not see (ראו) the majesty of the Lord (גאות יהוה)"; Isa. 35:2: הדר is parallel with כבוד; Exod. 33:18-23 equates כבוד with פנה; cf. Hab. 3:3: "glory (הוד) covers (כסה) the heavens."

CHAPTER THREE

CRYSTALLIZATION AND GROWTH OF THE GLORY TRADITION

A. GLORY AT THE BEGINNING OF MONARCHY

Though often not the central focus, an analysis of כבוד יהוה has impinged upon many different, sometimes overlapping fields of study. A number of studies examine the etymology of כבוד יהוה in particular or the entire כבוד word group in general.¹ A second group of studies cluster around research into the beginnings of ancient Israel's religion. Because a central aspect of any examination of worship--be it form-critical, tradition-critical, or comparative--would include "divine presence" themes, כבוד יהוה has often been discussed, even though it was sometimes only secondarily related to these historical probes into the beginnings of ancient Israel's religion.² A third group of studies can be

¹ Though such "word-study" approaches typically are either semantically inaccurate--especially at the point of faulty etymological inferences--or suffer the fate of space limitations, they sometimes pay rich tradition-historical dividends. Consult the following: A. Freiherrn von Gall, *Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 1-65; Wilhelm Caspari, *Die Bedeutungen der Wortsippe כבוד im Hebräischen* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1908); Bernhard Stein, *Der Begriff Kebod Jahweh und seine Bedeutung für die alttestamentliche Gotteserkenntnis* (Westphalia: Heinrich und J. Liechte, 1939); L. H. Brockington, "The Presence of God: A Study of the Use of the Term 'Glory of Yahweh,'" *ExpT* 57 (1945): 21-25; Gerhard von Rad, "כבוד," *TDNT*, 2:240-45; H. J. Duplacy, "L'esperance de la gloire de Dieu dans l'ancien Testament," *Bible et Vie Chretienne* 8 (1954/55): 40-54; Davies, "Glory," 401-3; C. Westermann, "כבוד," 794-812; S. Aalan, "Glory, Honour," 44-52; E. F. Harrison, "Glory," *ISBE*, 2:477-83.

² Mann, *Divine Presence*, 1-23, documents the role "divine presence" terminology plays in the scholarly discussion of ancient Israel's religion. Beginning with the work of Hermann Gunkel, Mann shows how epiphany/theophany figures into the form-critical and tradition-critical analyses on the one hand (e.g., Gerhard von Rad, Artur Weiser, Walter Beyerlin, Claus Westermann, Edouard Lipinski, J. Kuntz and Jörg Jeremias)

classified together because they have more or less shared a theological approach to the Old Testament. Yet, these analyses are anything but monolithic, especially at the point of כבוד יהוה.³

and the *religionsgeschichtliche* investigations on the other (e.g., W. F. Albright, H.-J. Kraus, George Mendenhall and Frank Moore Cross).

³ One group of studies seek to explain the relationship of כבוד יהוה in the "Priestly" tradition to other divine presence symbols--most notably the "name" theology of the "Deuteronomist" tradition or the "Sabaoth" theology of the Zion tradition. See Gerhard von Rad, "Deuteronomy's 'Name' Theology and the Priestly Document's 'Kabod' Theology," *Studies in Deuteronomy* (SBT 9; Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953), 37-44; Rolf Rendtorff, "The Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel," *Revelation as History* (ed. W. Pannenberg, R. Rendtorff, T. Rendtorff, and U. Wilkens; New York: Macmillan, 1968), 25-53; J. Gordon McConville, "God's 'Name' and God's 'Glory,'" *Tyndale Bulletin* 30 (1979): 149-63; and Trygve N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1982). A second group of theological studies seek, via form-criticism, to elucidate the kerygmatic intent of a major block of tradition. This method--pioneered by Hans Walter Wolff--has been applied to the "P" tradition: Walter Brueggemann, "The Kerygma of the Priestly Writers," *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* (ed. W. Brueggemann and H. W. Wolff; 2d ed; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 101-13; Terrence E. Fretheim, "The Theology of the Major Traditions in Genesis-Numbers," *RevExp* 74 (1977): 301-19; Sue Boorer, "The Kerygmatic Intention of the Priestly Writer," *AusBR* 25 (1977): 12-20; Samuel Terrien, *The Elusive Presence: The Heart of Biblical Theology* (Religious Perspectives 26; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), who, though loosely following a canonical ordering, employs a kerygmatic method similar to that of Wolff and Brueggemann; Ralph W. Klein, "When Memory is Hope: The Response to Exile in P^s," *Israel in Exile: A Theological Interpretation* (OBT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 125-48; idem, "The Message of P," *Die Botschaft und die Boten* (ed. J. Jeremias and L. Peritt; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981), 57-66; Claus Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," *Wort-Gebot-Glaube: Festschrift für W. Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Stoebe, Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments 59; Zurich: Zwingli, 1970), 227-49. A discussion of כבוד יהוה is always standard fare in Old Testament theologies: e.g., Walter Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (2 vols; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961, 1967), 2:29-35; Ludwig Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957), 124-26; Th. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology* (Newton: Charles T. Bradford, 1958), 246-49; Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 79-82; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols; New York: Harper & Row, 1962, 1965), 1:145, 234-41, 2:223, 243; and Claus Westermann, *Elements of Old Testament Theology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 187-94.

Though representing diverse disciplines, the linguistic, historical, and theological studies often overlap, especially at the points of already furnished broad historical and literary frameworks. Such is the case with the various treatments of יהוה כבוד. Given the sometimes radically different assumptions, methods, scopes and goals of each of these studies, which either directly or indirectly implicate something of the tradition-history of יהוה כבוד, it is amazing to find one point on which nearly all agree: יהוה כבוד in the Priestly tradition ("P") first crystallized during (and thus addressed) the exile.⁴ The relating of יהוה כבוד in "P" to the exilic/post-exilic period has played a profound, if not programmatic, role in any treatment of Glory.

Ronald Clements' tracing of the "divine presence" motif in ancient Israel's worship is a good example.⁵ Clements argues the covenant reflects the religion of Yahweh (which the Israelite tribes brought with them at the time of settlement), while the temple theology, with its immanent God, was grafted in from the Canaanites. At a later stage, the prophets protested the Canaanite influence, which led in turn to the transcendent "name" theology of "D." "P" came to play a part rather late (during the exile) in Clements' evolutionary scheme. According to Clements, "P" was a product of priestly tradents who sought to revise and re-interpret Israel's religious heritage as a basis for post-exilic restoration.⁶ יהוה כבוד played a key role in the program: Yahweh's כבוד would "tabernacle" in the midst of Israel in portable sanctuary.⁷

⁴ E.g., Brockington, "Presence," 21-22; von Rad, "'Name' and 'Kabod,'" 37-44; idem, "כבוד," 240-45; idem, *Theology*, 1:234-41; Duplacy, "L'esperance," 50-52; Davies, "Glory," 401; Rendtorff, "Concept," 35-37; Westermann, "Herrlichkeit," 227-49; idem, *Elements*, 192-93; Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973), 294-325 (especially 322-24); Terrien, *Elusive Presence*, 137-52, 172-79; Mettinger, *Dethronement*, 80-115.

⁵ Ronald E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965).

⁶ Ibid., 111.

⁷ Ibid., 137-38.

Clements acknowledges כבוד language had a long pre-history which included close ties with Ezekiel, who preceded the priestly tradents, and with the Jerusalem temple during the monarchy.

[I]t seems that here [i.e., in reference to יהוה כבוד] Ezekiel is falling back on a particular feature of the Jerusalem tradition of worship. That Yahweh's glory was made manifest in the service of the temple was an ancient belief, which is here [i.e., in Ezekiel] exalted to a new significance.⁸

Clements concedes the "idea of the glory of Yahweh ... which assumed a particular prominence in Jerusalem" stretched back beyond the time of the monarchy to the pre-monarchic period and possessed connections with the Canaanite theophanic storm-god.⁹ Clements thus traces the יהוה כבוד trajectory from theophanic beginnings, to ties to the Jerusalem temple, to Ezekiel, to the Deuteronomist's "name" theology and, finally, to "P."

Opting for Clements' scenario forces יהוה כבוד into the role of an interloper, i.e., a Canaanite storm-god, whom the "P" tradents ultimately domesticate. How could a Glory tradition, which was given birth in Canaanite circles and tutored in theology at the temple of Jerusalem (to which the prophets and "D" objected), come to be a symbol of reform in "P"?¹⁰ Such a reconstruction, though common among יהוה כבוד chroniclers,¹¹ does raise questions about the origin and development of the Glory tradition.

All too often, as G. Henton Davies observes, tradition-historical reconstructions of יהוה כבוד are based upon a simple

⁸ Ibid., 104.

⁹ Ibid., 104 n. 2.

¹⁰ Clements does qualify the relationship between כבוד in Canaanite theophany and in the temple; he writes that early on [i.e., at least before the monarchy] "glory could not be limited to such natural phenomena and came to have a wider and more spiritual content" (104). But he does not clarify just how and why כבוד came "to have a wider and more spiritual content."

¹¹ E.g., von Rad, "'Name' and 'Kabod,'" 37-44; idem, "כבוד," 238-42; idem, *Theology*, 1:145, 238-41; Terrien, *Elusive Presence*, 137-52; Mettinger, *Dethronement*, 80-115.

chronology of the writings in which the phrase appears--chiefly Isaiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, and "P." Such reconstructions ignore the "significance and influence of the cult in the development of the conception."¹² Davies then notes the close ties of Glory language with worship "by the days of the Early Monarchy." Davies concludes: "The question thus arises whether the accounts of the glory in Ezekiel and P are not also derived from the same source"¹³ (and at the same time, i.e., by the days of the early monarchy).

While Davies' call for tracing the development of כבוד יהוה within a worship *Sitz im Leben* helps solve the relationship of "P" to monarchical and pre-monarchical traditions, a question still remains with regard to the worship orientation of כבוד יהוה in "P." Given the almost axiomatic dating of the creation/final composition of the "P" material to the exilic/post-exilic period, why is it that the most explicit statements linking כבוד יהוה to sacral worship would come so late in the trajectory? This raises the possibility, at least in theory, that כבוד יהוה in "P" does not reflect the end of the tradition, but stands in much closer proximity to the source of the Glory trajectory.

That such a "theory" is worthy of more than passing consideration is argued by Menahem Haran.¹⁴ In his review of Clements' book *God and Temple*, Haran several times laments the cavalier way in which "P" is used in reconstructing the sacral-cultic-worship history of ancient Israel. According to Haran, Clements' semantically inaccurate treatment of the "house/temple" is tied up with his improper understanding of "P."

To a certain degree, this [Clements' inaccuracy] was caused by the author's prior commitment to the accepted dating of P, which is an

¹² Davies, "Glory," 401.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Menahem Haran, "The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult and the Cultic Institutions," *Bib* 50 (1969): 251-67.

exceedingly rich source of information regarding the cultic forms and customs of Israel in biblical times.¹⁵

And a little later, Haran writes:

Another premise that I find hardly acceptable regards the dating of P. Naturally enough, a scholar may base his discussion on a view that is considered by many to be axiomatic. ... But he is obliged to be on guard and each time to examine anew whether that view has not lost its validity in the particular subject under discussion. ... In the case that is before us he should at least maintain that of the cult ideology and much of what is involved in it, P, for all its late literary crystallization[,] preserved a good deal of ancient elements.¹⁶

Haran's criticisms of Clements have a direct bearing on יהוה כבוד in "P." Though "late in its literary crystallization," "P" may well have preserved an ancient piece of "cult ideology." Understanding יהוה כבוד as crystallizing in an exilic/post-exilic time period may actually hinder a tradition-historical reconstruction of Glory.

The thesis argued below is that the Glory tradition, in its most precise and technical sense as reflected in "P," first crystallized at the beginning of the Davidic monarchy in a worship setting. Though early on כבוד possessed "divine presence" associations--associations which, in fact, can be traced back to the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness experiences of Israel--it was in the environment of worship, during the time of Davidic political and religious consolidation, that the older uses of כבוד first crystallized into an identifiable Glory tradition.

In order to defend the position outlined above, two objections must be faced. The first objection concerns the date of "P." Does not the almost axiomatic exilic/post-exilic dating of "P" abort any such reconstruction of יהוה כבוד? Second, even if "P," or some part of "P," can be dated early, nothing in specific has been said about the antiquity of יהוה כבוד. Is not the association of כבוד with יהוה, especially in the technical sense in "P," a

¹⁵ Ibid., 255.

¹⁶ Ibid., 258.

relatively late phenomenon in the history of ancient Israel's traditions? These two objections must be faced before arguing for the crystallization of כבוד יהוה at the beginning of the Davidic monarchy.

In the wake of Wellhausen's legacy concerning the nature and date of the "P Document," scholarship has only bit by bit made adjustments in the picture of "P" as delineated by him. The exact extent, nature, intent and date of "P" have become a very complex debate in Old Testament scholarship.¹⁷ Fortunately, for the purposes at hand, definitive answers need not be found for all of these questions--if, indeed, definitive answers can be found for any.

Even in the face of some admittedly difficult problems, scholars have sketched out some "working parameters" concerning "P." Simply stated, "P" is functionally understood as an identifiable tradition, the large majority of which is reflected in material ranging from Genesis 1:1 to somewhere around Numbers 10.¹⁸ A division of this material into two strands--a narrative framework (Pⁿ) and a legal section (P^s)--is commonly made.¹⁹ Scholars acknowledge that some sort of redaction-editing-arranging of the whole Pentateuch has taken place; this penultimate/final editing process is functionally

¹⁷ B. A. Levine, "Priestly Writers," *IDBSup*, 683-87; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 122-27; Rolf Rendtorff, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 157-63; cf. Otto Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1975), 102-115. Though I have deep reservations about the nature, scope, and date of "P" (as will be apparent from the discussion which follows), I will, nonetheless, employ nomenclature current in scholarly circles for the sake of convenience.

¹⁸ Some detect scattered passages in the latter parts of Numbers (and even possibly in Deuteronomy and Joshua) which reflect "P" tradition. See the very helpful chart compiled by B. W. Anderson in Martin Noth's *A History of the Pentateuchal Traditions* (Chico: Scholars, 1981), 262-76.

¹⁹ K. Elliger, "Sinn und Ursprung der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtserzählung," *ZTK* 49 (1952): 121-43; his observations concerning Pⁿ are conveniently summarized by Sean E. McEvenue, *The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer* (AnBib 50; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971) in "Table I" at the end of his work.

understood as being under the aegis of "Priestly" tradents, and this editing could well have been accomplished in an exilic/post-exilic time period.²⁰ Such disclaimers are common (and necessary) in any investigation of "P."²¹ For the present discussion concerning כבוד יהוה, only one of these "working parameters" is to be highlighted, namely, the antiquity of certain features in "P."

In recent years there has been a growing trend, on the basis of sociological, linguistic, and literary grounds, to allocate large portions of "P" traditions to an earlier period. In fact, largely on the basis of this older material, some would wish to make significant adjustments in the traditional view of the date of "P" as a whole. While opinion concerning the antiquity of the whole of "P" is still in the minority, the arguments employed in showing the archaic nature of some parts of "P" are compelling.²² Thus Norman Gottwald can write:

²⁰ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 293-325.

²¹ E.g., Brueggemann, "Kerygma," 101, 159 nn. 4, 5, 6; R. W. Klein, "Response," 125 n. 1; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Structure of P," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 272-92 (especially 275); Mettinger, *Dethronement*, 16.

²² Ziony Zevit, "Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 481-511; David R. Hildebrand, "A Summary of Recent Findings in Support of an Early Date for the So-called Priestly Material of the Pentateuch," *JETS* 29 (1986): 129-38. Zevit and Hildebrand positively assess a growing amount of literature in which "P," in whole or in part, is dated to a much earlier time period. The major works which they treat are as follows: Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960); Menahem Haran, "Shiloh and Jerusalem: The Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch," *JBL* 81 (1962): 14-24; Avi Hurvitz, "The Usage of שש and בן in the Bible and Its Implication for the Date of P," *HTR* 60 (1967): 117-21; Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology I*. (Berkeley: University of California, 1970); Avi Hurvitz, "The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code," *RB* 81 (1974): 24-56; Ziony Zevit, "The Priestly Redaction and Interpretation of the Plague Narrative in Exodus," *JQR* 66 (1976): 193-211; Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula: Scholars, 1976); Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple Services in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978); A. Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P," *JANESCU* 12 (1980): 65-80; Menahem Haran, "Behind the Scenes of History: Determining the Date of the Priestly Source," *JBL* 100 (1981): 321-33; Richard E. Friedman, *The Exile and Biblical Narrative: The Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly Works* (HSM 22; Chico: Scholars, 1981); Avi Hurvitz, A

There are old traditional elements in P, perhaps resting ultimately on oral sources, which throw valued light on the premonarchic period, but the preponderance of P is a testimony to the emergence of a strengthened Priestly tradition in late monarchic, exilic, and postexilic Israel.²³

Gottwald employs "P" at several places in his diachronic description of ancient Israel's history and literature.²⁴ The approach of Gottwald, especially in light of the recent sociological, linguistic, and literary analyses cited above, reflects a methodological advance in the employment of "P" in the study of ancient Israelite traditions. To understand parts of "P" as being pre-exilic does not necessarily imply the antiquity of the כבוד יהוה; evidence must be adduced which indicates כבוד יהוה in "P" could (and should) be dated early.

In attempting to assess the antiquity of כבוד יהוה in "P," it is of great importance to observe that Glory partakes of a larger, form-critically identified phenomenon labeled "theophany."²⁵ Though exact knowledge of the historical development of theophany is still clouded, the earliest theophanic texts (e.g., Psa. 68; Jud. 5; Hab. 3; and Deut. 33) witness to an ancient twofold structure or form--A: the arrival of God; B: a response (usually in terms of

Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem (CahRB 20; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982); Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (SJLA 36; Leiden: Brill, 1983).

²³ Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 140.

²⁴ Ibid., xxviii, 150-53, 180-90, 207, 213-17, 458-82.

²⁵ The discussion of "theophany" in the scholarly literature suffers from problems in definition; cf. Claus Westermann, *In Praise of God in the Psalms* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1965), 93-101; Frank Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im Alten Testament," ZAW 76 (1964): 1-21; Artur Weiser, *Psalms: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 38-43 (especially 38 n. 2), 197-204, 259-65; Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (2d ed; WMANT 10; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1977); idem, "Theophany in the OT," *IDBSup*, 896-98; J. Kenneth Kuntz, *The Self-Revelation of God* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966); and G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 3-11.

cosmic upheaval).²⁶ When an examination is made of the יהוה כבוד traditions in "P," the same twofold pattern of arrival/response can be detected--a fact which witnesses to the antiquity of יהוה כבוד in "P."

Claus Westermann, following Rolf Rendtorff,²⁷ divides יהוה כבוד in "P" into two groups: one group of passages features the revelation of יהוה כבוד at Mount Sinai and in the tabernacle (Exod. 24:15b-25:1; 40:34-35; Lev. 9:6, 23), while a second group of passages focuses upon the appearance of יהוה כבוד during the wilderness wanderings (Exod. 16:7, 10; Num. 14:10; 16:19; 16:42 [=17:7]; 20:6).²⁸

Westermann begins with Exodus 24:15b-25:1. This passage functions paradigmatically for "P's" Glory language in that Moses is commissioned to build the dwelling place for the כבוד.²⁹ Westermann discerns a three-fold strophic pattern--the "Kommen," the "Bleiben," and the "Ruf (Wort)." In each strophe both God and Moses take part.³⁰ Verse 17 parenthetically compares the יהוה כבוד to a devouring fire.

²⁶ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 16-24. Cf. Westermann, *Praise of God*, 93-101, who distinguishes between "epiphany" and "theophany." Borrowed from ancient Israel's neighbors, "epiphany" possesses a three-fold structure--the coming of God, the violent reaction of nature, and God's intervention. According to Westermann, "epiphany" was used in psalms of praise to celebrate victories. "Theophany" emphasizes the cultic place, time, person and word of God. For example, compare Judges 5 (epiphany) with Exodus 19 (theophany). However, as Westermann notes himself, the third strophe of "epiphany," i.e., God's intervention, is not consistently present within the so-called epiphanic texts. Further, both "epiphany" and "theophany" share similar motifs--mountains, thunder, smoke, clouds. Westermann's distinctions can hardly be maintained. See Weiser, *Psalms*, 38 n. 2; Mann, *Divine Presence*, 6. Within the confines of this work, the single word "theophany" will be employed to describe the more or less critically assured arrival/response *Gattung* as identified by both Jeremias and Westermann.

²⁷ Rendtorff, "Concept," 35-37.

²⁸ Westermann, "Herrlichkeit," 227-49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 230.

³⁰ In the first strophe, the "Coming" or "Arrival," 24:15b-16a ("the cloud covered the mountain"; "the glory of the Lord settled on Mount Sinai") is parallel to 24:18a ("and Moses entered the cloud"; "and went up on the Mountain"). In the second strophe, the "Remaining" or "Abiding," 24:16a ("and the cloud covered it [the mountain] six days") is parallel to 24:18b ("and Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights"). In the third

According to Westermann both Exodus 40:34-35 and Leviticus 9:6, 23 build upon Exodus 24:15b-25:1, forming something of a tradition-historical inclusio.³¹ Though this form-critically adduced pattern betrays the marks of cultic influence, the strophic pattern bears striking resemblance to the ancient theophanic victory hymns--A: the arrival of יהוה; and B: a reaction or response. Instead of violent reactions of nature, the responses are cultically defined--the people construct the tabernacle (Exod. 25-40); Moses is unable to enter the tabernacle (Exod. 40:35); and the people offer worship (Lev. 9:24).

The use of יהוה כבוד in association with the wilderness wanderings also preserves the ancient theophanic form. Here Westermann discerns a five-fold pattern: (1) the occasion (murmuring/unlawful assembling);³² (2) the assembling at the "tent of meeting"; (3) the appearance of the יהוה כבוד; (4) the word of God given to Moses (or Aaron); and (5) an act of God. This structural agreement in the stories is quite remarkable, although there is just enough variation to keep each account distinct and different. But again, embedded in this five-fold pattern is the (cultically influenced) ancient theophanic form--in part (3) where the appearance is emphasized and in parts (4) and (5) where a response/reaction is highlighted.³³

strophe, the "Call" or "Word," 24:16b ("and on the seventh day he called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud") is parallel to 25:1 ("the Lord spoke to Moses").

³¹ In Exod. 40 the יהוה כבוד fills the tabernacle upon its completion, while in Lev. 9 יהוה כבוד appears when the first sacrifices are offered up by the newly ordained Aaronic priests; Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical Theological Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 638; Martin Noth, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 76.

³² Exod. 16:1-12 (murmuring for food); Num. 14:1-38 (murmuring at the report of the spies); Num. 16:1-40 (the rebellion of Korah and his company); Num. 16:41-50 (the murmuring of the people after the destruction of Korah and his band); Num. 20:1-13 (the murmuring of the people because of the lack of water).

³³ For the cosmic upheavals, the "B" strophe of the theophanic form, "P" substitutes worship instructions and worship responses: Exod. 16:12 ("then you will know"); Num. 16:11 ("how long will the people not believe in me?"); Num. 16:23 ("and they fell on their faces"); Num. 16:45 ("and they

Frank M. Cross calls attention to the poetic character of the *יהוה כבוד* passages found in "P" (Exod. 24:15-25:1; 40:34). Though he dates "P's" redactional activity in the exile (and thus relates *יהוה כבוד* to that time period), Cross surmises that "there can be little doubt that the Priestly editor drew on poetic sources" and that "it may be that these passages [Exod. 24, 40] ... reflect a poetic source hitherto unsuspected."³⁴ Could Cross' "poetic source" be the ancient theophanic form, a form modified through the process of cultic celebration? The *formgeschichtliche* analysis of *יהוה כבוד* in "P" would certainly allow for such a conclusion.

"P" locates the fountainhead of the Glory tradition in the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness tradition complexes of Israel. Scholars disagree, and wish to trace the source of the Glory tradition to the doorstep of Canaanite theophany. Though Cross does not explicitly say so, it can be surmised that the "poetic source hitherto unsuspected" tradition-historically relates to Canaanite theophanic precursors. But is it true, as Cross does say, that "the language of theophany in early Israel was primarily language drawn from the theophany of Ba'l"?³⁵ It is a curious fact, however, that outside of "P," never does *יהוה כבוד*, let alone the more technical *יהוה כבוד*, appear in any of the early Hebrew theophanic poetry.³⁶

There is arguably one exception to the comments above. Psalm 29 is often singled out as an example of an actual pre-Hebraic Canaanite theophanic hymn which has been preserved in the Hebrew Psalter. In both vocabulary and form the Psalm

fell on their faces"); Num. 20:6 ("Take the rod and assemble the congregation").

³⁴ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 166 n. 87.

³⁵ Ibid., 156-57.

³⁶ Exod. 15:1-18; Num. 10:35; Deut. 33:2-3; Jud. 5:4-5; Psalms 18:8-16; 50:3-6; 68:8-9; 77:16-20; 114:1-8; Hab. 3:3-6. The only exception, outside of Psalm 29 (discussed below), is Psalm 97:1-9 (Psalms 19 and 24 cannot really be classified as *Theophaniebericht*; see Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms* [FOTL 14; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988], 100-103, 117-19, 255).

betrays its Canaanite heritage.³⁷ If this is true, then the Psalm, an ancient piece of poetic literature (akin to Hab. 3; Psa. 68; Jud. 5; Deut. 33), assumes a particular importance in assessing Israel's indebtedness to Canaanite mythic patterns. As Cross says, the Psalm fills "a real gap in Canaanite literature."³⁸ Moreover, if the Psalm is of ancient Canaanite origin, it contains the earliest demonstrable collocation of כבוד with a deity (אל) in a theophanic text. Thus, it might be argued, כבוד יהוה made its way into the stock theophanic vocabulary of Israel via Baal-Hadad imagery.

Upon closer examination, Psalm 29, though having some terminological and prosaic similarities to Canaanite literature, can not really be described accurately as a "Canaanite hymn." Among others, Artur Weiser³⁹ and Peter Craigie⁴⁰ have objected to a Canaanite origin by drawing attention to the paucity of terminological parallels and the Psalm's connections with the Sinai tradition. Further, the relationship to any supposed Canaanite precursor would be in the form of a polemic: "the poet has deliberately utilized Canaanite-type language and imagery in

³⁷ Originally championed by G. L. Ginsberg and T. H. Gaster, but most recently by F. M. Cross, "Notes on A Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament," *BASOR* 117 (1950): 19-21; and Mitchell Dahood, *The Psalms I: 1-50* (AB 16; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 174-180. Cross argues the mythic patterns of the Canaanites pre-dated and influenced all the theophanic poetic literature in the Hebrew Bible. The mythic pattern was given new epic shape by the "J-E" traditions. Others, however, are not so bold in claiming Hebraic dependence upon Ugaritic parallels; see Herbert Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 (1967): 322-50; Peter C. Craigie, "The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel," *Tyndale Bulletin* 22 (1971): 3-31.

³⁸ Cross, "Notes," 19.

³⁹ Weiser, *The Psalms*: "In spite of the formal Ugaritic parallels we must not simplify matters by classifying the song as 'Canaanite Psalm'. For v. 8 points to a link with the Israelite Sinai tradition which cannot be disregarded" (261 n. 1); "The poet follows up the image of the fiery breath of God by speaking of the earthquake in the wilderness of Kadesh, which lies on the way from Egypt to Palestine and in the Old Testament tradition is associated with the Sinai tradition. This fact points to an inner connection of his representation with the Sinai tradition as archetype" (264).

⁴⁰ Peter C. Craigie, "Poetry," 15-19, 28-29; idem, *Psalms 1-50* (WBC 19; Waco: Word, 1983), 241-49.

order to emphasize the Lord's strength and victory, in contrast to the weakness of the inimical Baal."⁴¹

Doubt about a positive, tradition-historical relationship between כבוד יהוה in "P" and Canaanite theophany increases by examining כבד in the Ugaritic material. In the Ras Shamra texts, כבד is never collocated with Baal-Hadad, never appears in a theophanic context, and has no semantic overlaps with יהוה כבוד.⁴² Mitchell Dahood has claimed to have discerned כבד as a name for one of the pantheon gods in both the Ugaritic and Eblite material,⁴³ but these examples are not in a theophanic setting and are hardly a semantic parallel to כבוד יהוה in "P." Because the relationship of כבד in the Ugarit to כבוד יהוה in "P" is semantically and tradition-historically problematic and because כבד is never collocated with either אל or יהוה in early Hebrew poetry, another tradition-historical source for כבוד יהוה seems plausible.

It is not only "P" which connects כבוד יהוה to the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness experiences of ancient Israel as a sign of "divine presence"; other traditions do the same. (1) God's כבוד is instrumental in securing the release of the ancient Israelites from the Egyptians.⁴⁴ (2) כבוד, as a signifier of divine presence,

⁴¹ Ibid., 246. B. Margulis, "The Canaanite Origin of Psalm 29 Reconsidered," *Bib* 51 (1970): 332-48.

⁴² Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (3 vols; AnOr 38; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), 3:417; Loren R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels* (3 vols; AnOr 49, 50, 51; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1972, 1975, 1981), s.v. "כבד"; Carola Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Israel* (Amsterdam/Leiden: G. A. van Oorschot/Brill, 1986), 23-32. Cf. Mettinger, *Dethronement*, 117 n. 2. Though כבד indeed is employed in the Ugarit to mean "to pay homage," never is the stem employed to signify "divine presence."

⁴³ Mitchell Dahood, "The Ebla Tablets and Old Testament Theology," *TD* 27 (1979): 303-11.

⁴⁴ Exod. 7:14; 8:11, 20, 28; 9:3, 7, 18, 24, 34; 10:1, 14; 12:38; 14:4, 17, 18, 25. Heikki Räisänen, *The Idea of Divine Hardening: A Comparative Study of the Notion of Divine Hardening, Leading Astray and Inciting to Evil in the Bible and the Qur'an* (Finnish Exegetical Society 25; Helsinki: n. p., 1976), 52-56. יהוה accomplishes his goal ("to get glory") by alternatively "כבוד-ing" Pharaoh's heart and sending "כבוד-ish" plagues, "as had never been before, nor ever shall be again"--the singularity of the

is linked with Sinai. In Exodus 19, יהוה descends onto Mount Sinai in a כבוד-cloud, i.e., a divine-presence filled cloud (v. 16).⁴⁵ In Exodus 33:18, 22, כבוד should undoubtedly be construed as a signifier of divine presence.⁴⁶ (3) In the Wilderness the appearance of יהוה כבוד signals judgment.

Then the Lord said, "I have pardoned, according to your word; but truly, as I live, and as all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord, none of the men who have seen my glory and my signs which I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, and yet have put me to the test ... shall see the land" (Num. 14: 20-23a).

Though commentators are curiously silent about the occurrence of יהוה כבוד here (outside of what is traditionally considered "P" material),⁴⁷ כבוד as a sign of divine presence binds Exodus to the wilderness experiences. (4) כבוד, both in and outside of "P," is intimately connected with wilderness forms of worship (Tent, Ark, Tabernacle). As Cross, Haran, Kraus, Weinfeld and Friedman all argue,⁴⁸ the tabernacle tradition stretches back until the pre-settlement nomadic period or, at the very least, to a pre-monarchical period. The same has been argued for the ark

experience pointing to the divine character of the plague. The plagues-hardening process finally resolves when the wheels of the Egyptians' chariots became clogged and thus drove "כבוד-edly." When the Egyptians saw this, they declared: "'Let us flee from before Israel; for the Lord fights for them against the Egyptians'" (Exod. 14:25). The Egyptians saw the presence of יהוה in the clogging of the wheels.

⁴⁵ Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1972), 107-23; John I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco: Word, 1987), 270-71.

⁴⁶ James Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament," *VTSup* 7 (1959): 31-38.

⁴⁷ Cf. Katherine D. Sakenfeld, "The Problem of Divine Forgiveness in Numbers 14," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 317-30.

⁴⁸ Frank M. Cross, "The Priestly Tabernacle," *Biblical Archaeological Reader* (ed. G. E. Wright and D. N. Freedman; Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 201-28; Haran, "Shiloh," 14-24; idem, *Temple*, 269-73; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament* (Richmond: John Knox, 1966), 129-34; Mose Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomist School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 186 n. 2; Richard E. Friedman, "The Tabernacle in the Temple," *BA* 43 (1980): 241-48.

tradition.⁴⁹ The occurrences of כבוד, as a signifier of divine presence, outside of "P" in association with the very traditions with which "P" links the technical יהוה כבוד--i.e., the Exodus, Sinai and Wilderness wanderings--lend credence to the thesis that כבוד as a signifier of divine presence stretches back to pre-settlement traditions.⁵⁰

To sum up: כבוד יהוה in "P," though betraying the marks of cultic transmission, form-critically possesses characteristics similar to the earliest Hebrew theophanic poetry. Yet, tradition-historically, the links between כבוד יהוה in "P" and כבוד in Canaanite theophany are problematic. The most plausible tradition-historical source for כבוד יהוה in "P" is the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness tradition complexes. כבוד יהוה as reflected in "P" is arguably old, stemming from tradition about Israel's earliest experiences; the task ahead is to establish when and why כבוד יהוה first crystallized as a technical term and took its particular shape.

Claus Westermann outlines three major stages in the history of Israel's worship: (1) worship in the settlement period, (2) worship under kingship, and (3) worship during the exile. The Sinai tradition exerted the profound, determinative influence upon worship during the settlement period, whereas a Royal-Blessing-Zion tradition dominated worship during the monarchy.⁵¹ The primary contours of both "trajectories" are by now well defined.⁵² The Mosaic trajectory reflected a "movement of protest" among the "disinherited" and tended to speak of the radical interventions of God. The Davidic trajectory was a movement of "consolidation" among the "established" and

⁴⁹ Walter Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 32-33; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 186.

⁵⁰ See Noth, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 46-62, 128 n. 382, 204, 235, 244-46; Westermann, *Elements*, 36-55. Cf. Gerhard von Rad, "Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (London: SCM, 1966), 13-20.

⁵¹ Westermann, *Elements*, 187-94 (especially 190-91); Clements, *God and Temple*, 17-27.

⁵² Walter Brueggemann, "Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel," *JBL* 98 (1979): 161-85.

spoke about God's "abiding" and "sustaining" the present order. Though both "trajectories" were operative--at least to some degree--in all periods of ancient Israel's history, and thus can be used to organize a theology of the Old Testament,⁵³ the immediate concern is the period of transition from settlement to kingship: what traditions were cherished then and did כבוד יהוה help effect the transition from settlement (Sinai) to monarchy (Royal-Zion-Blessing theology)?

David's decision to make Jerusalem the worship center for ancient Israel was a key event in the process of transition: Jerusalem became the strategic symbol for religious unity.⁵⁴ Other changes occurred as well. The lines blurred between the one who governed politically (the king) and those who led in worship (the priests); the king himself began to take on liturgical functions. The rise of a priestly class, under the king, no doubt aided in the consolidation of worship in Jerusalem. Worship underwent modification--changes which sought to bring ancient Israel's worship into a coherent, consistent pattern. Such worship, as a precursor to a full-blown Royal theology, would naturally emphasize Yahweh's presence: Yahweh abides in Jerusalem, Yahweh sustains the king, and Yahweh will bless the (new) experience of life under a king. To experience Yahweh's sustaining and abiding presence in a regular way, in the same place, under the leadership of the king and his priests, a premium would be placed upon holiness on the part of both the leaders and the people.

⁵³ Walter Brueggemann, "A Convergence in Recent Old Testament Theologies," *JSOT* 18 (1980): 2-18; idem, "A Shape for Old Testament Theology, I: Structure Legitimation," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 28-46; idem, "A Shape for Old Testament Theology, II: Embrace of Pain," 395-415.

⁵⁴ Rendtorff, *Introduction*, 33; Kraus, *Worship*, 183-86; Clements, *God and Temple*, 64; Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 231; Brueggemann, "Trajectories," 168-69; James W. Flanagan, "The Relocation of the Davidic Capital," *JAAR* 27 (1979): 233-44; Moshe Weinfeld, "Zion and Jerusalem, as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia," *The Poet as Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism* (ed. Richard E. Friedman; HSS 26; Chico: Scholars, 1983), 73-115.

Though the changes were later to become the standards of a fully developed Royal tradition, the period of transition was not devoid of their presence. As J. J. M. Roberts observes, "it is clear that David's desire to build a temple implied the establishment of Yahweh's permanent residence in Jerusalem, and that step, which marked a major departure from Israel's past religious practice, certainly required divine validation."⁵⁵ The particular form of "divine validation" was not a forgone conclusion; the transition from settlement to monarchy could have been justified in any number of ways.

With the issues of the transition period in mind, a second look can be taken at כבוד יהוה in "P." כבוד יהוה betrays close ties to a worship context. The form-critically identified strophes of the Sinai account and the relatively fixed form of the wilderness wandering revelations confirm such a conclusion. A closer examination of כבוד יהוה in "P" yields a specific kerygma which addressed issues of transition from settlement to monarchy.

The goal of the Sinai theophany (Exod. 24:15b-25:1) is to build the tabernacle, the holy place for Yahweh's כבוד. The instructions issued to Moses legitimized him alone as the mediator. Into the various strophes--the "Arrival," the "Abiding," and the "Word"--further kerygmatic influences are built. Two movements can be seen in the "Arrival"--one from above, one from below; the two movements mime the drama of worship. Only Moses, however, is allowed to experience the theophany of Glory. The "Abiding" strophe (40 days, 6 days) emphasizes the holy time of worship. The "word" of instruction given to Moses is not any ordinary word, but possesses the "Charakter des besonderen Wortes, des heiligen oder des gottesdienstlichen Wortes."⁵⁶ Again, Moses' special mediating role is accented. The parenthetical description of כבוד יהוה as fire delimits Yahweh's approachability, even for the legitimized

⁵⁵ J. J. M. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. T. Ishida; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 105.

⁵⁶ Westermann, "Herrlichkeit," 233.

mediator: the visible presence, the כבוד, is to be feared; it appears as a "fire" which devours.⁵⁷

The tradition-historical inclusions to Exodus 24 are found in Exodus 40 and Leviticus 9. In Exodus 40 כבוד יהוה has exchanged the mountain top for the newly completed tabernacle. In doing so "a sign of legitimacy and approval" is granted to the new place of worship.⁵⁸ Leviticus 9 grants the same special blessing and approval to the tabernacle as a place of sacrifice--when the group of legitimized mediators widens to include Aaron and his sons. Though possessing a checkered literary history, the intervening material (principally chapters 1-7) bears tradition-historical connections with Exodus 24 and 40.⁵⁹ Leviticus 9 thus fixes the "eighth day" after the completion of the tabernacle (Exod. 40) as the first day of sacrifice. Once again, כבוד יהוה fills the tabernacle (v. 23), as was promised (v. 5), confirming and legitimizing both the act of sacrifice and the newly installed mediators. כבוד יהוה in Exodus 24, 40 and Leviticus 9 establishes sacred office, time, mediator, and order.⁶⁰

The appearances of כבוד יהוה in the Wilderness also speak to a worship setting. The one constant throughout all the passages is the seriousness of sin. When כבוד יהוה dramatically appears to warn of sin, it does so at the "Tent of Meeting," the place of worship, to punish those who disobey the word of the legitimized leaders.

By recounting the older traditions which spoke of both a single place of worship (the tabernacle) and legitimized leaders (Moses, Aaron and his sons), the kerygma of כבוד יהוה in "P" gives theological foundation to the transition to a single place of worship (Jerusalem) and a group of legitimate leader(s) (the

⁵⁷ כבוד יהוה is described as a "fire," which is a symbol of both guidance (i.e., "pillar of fire") and of judgment. The appearance of "fire" often precedes the appearance of כבוד, thus demonstrating the need for holiness on the part of those who would worship.

⁵⁸ Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary* (OTL; Nashville: Westminster, 1962), 283; Westermann, "Herrlichkeit," 236.

⁵⁹ Noth, *Leviticus*, 76.

⁶⁰ Westermann, "Herrlichkeit," 237.

king/priests). The graphic account of Yahweh's descent upon first Sinai and then into the tabernacle assures that יהוה will abide in and sustain the new place of worship. The description of יהוה כבוד as fire serves as a powerful witness to the God who, though dwelling with his people, should be feared and respected. By recounting the appearances of יהוה כבוד as judging, the king, priests, and people are called to obedience and holiness.

יהוה כבוד in "P" kerygmatically addressed a period of transition because new (worship consolidation in Jerusalem) could be understood in terms of the old (the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness traditions). To miss the tradition-historical connections of יהוה כבוד with Sinai is to misunderstand the rhetoric addressed to a time transition. To those who would worship Yahweh at a time when worship was centralized in Jerusalem under the direction of kingly appointed priests, יהוה כבוד told of a similar establishment of worship under the direction of Moses. The same God who led, guided, and conquered--as he was still doing--has provided a way of regular worship; the author of deliverance-guidance-conquest now authors a regular avenue of blessing. The Glory tradition, though much older, first crystallized at the beginning of the Davidic monarchy in a worship setting; the tradition crystallized because its kerygma inherently addressed the period of transition from settlement worship to worship under kingship.

B. GLORY DURING MONARCHY

The transition to life under monarchy had profound implications for ancient Israel. Though the transition was at first slow (under Saul⁶¹), the impetus for change grew along with the sweeping "innovations" of the Davidic-Solomonic administrations. Norman Gottwald, in comparing life under "chieftainship" to life under "hierarchic kingship," identifies several major sociological differences. (1) Israel underwent political consolidation, entailing systemized taxation, standing armies, and an incipient bureaucracy. (2) Ancient Israel began to experience social

⁶¹ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 219-29.

stratification: a heretofore unheard of merchant class began to exert influence. (3) There were shifts in land tenure--shifts away from land holdings preserved by families to the acquisition of land by accrued wealth. And finally, (4) to grow in power, as ancient Israel did under David and Solomon, "meant to be caught up in an international web of trade, diplomacy, and war."⁶²

But sociological changes were not the only ones which occurred. Along with militaristic, political, and economic expansion, the Davidic-Solomonic regimes spawned an "urban imperial consciousness"⁶³--variously discussed under the rubrics of "Royal," "Blessing" or "Zion" theology.⁶⁴ Two words of caution are in order. (1) The combination of the terms "Royal," "Blessing" and "Zion" is somewhat problematic. Ronald Clements questions the legitimacy of speaking of a "Zion" tradition apart from a more general "Royal" theology.⁶⁵ As intriguing (and vexing) as these questions may be, space does not permit a precise delineation of the rise and interrelationships of imagery current in this period. The terms "Royal," "Blessing" and "Zion" are used interchangeably to connote a wide constellation of images fostered during the Davidic-Solomonic empire. (2) While a variety of sources can be used in the reconstruction of a Royal theology--i.e., the "J" tradition, the narrative books of Samuel and Kings, and some parts of the poetic and wisdom books--the nature of the sources encumbers any such reconstruction. The narrative sources describing the Davidic-Solomonic empire, as most argue, have been subject to a long editorial process, while the poetic sources often lack the

⁶² Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible*, 320-25 (quoting from 324).

⁶³ Brueggemann, "Trajectories," 169.

⁶⁴ See Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible*, 635-40, for extensive bibliographic information concerning the questions of Royal traditions in their sociological, theological, and ideological settings.

⁶⁵ Ronald. E. Clements, *Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem: A Study of the Interpretation of the Prophecy in the Old Testament* (JSOTSS 13; Sheffield: JSOT, 1980), 72-89; cf. J. J. M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origins of the Zion Tradition," *JBL* 92 (1973): 329-44; idem, "Zion Tradition," *IDBSup*, 985-87; Norman W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol," *Verbannung und Heimkehr* (ed. A. Kuschke; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1961), 234-52.

chronological tags by which assured dating is accomplished. A prudent approach will be to outline the general, most assured contours of a Royal trajectory during the monarchy;⁶⁶ once the broad contours have been sketched, the role which the Glory tradition played can be assessed.

The hallmark of a Royal theology is the kingship of Yahweh. Though understood as a king long before the monarchy (Exod. 15:8; Israel certainly would have known of Egyptian and Canaanite political hierarchies with a divine king⁶⁷), a new, richer appreciation of the kingship of Yahweh accompanied the military and political successes of the Davidic-Solomonic empires.⁶⁸ Yahweh was the sustainer king of ancient Israel and the king who conquered other lands, other gods, and even of the whole creation--primeval, present, and future (Pss. 47, 93, 96-99).⁶⁹

To the human king, the divinely elected representative, Yahweh promised protection from enemies--be they the unruly powers of chaos (Pss. 8, 18, 19, 65, 104, 148) or foreign political powers (Pss. 2, 20, 21, 45, 72, 110).⁷⁰ The "Davidic covenant" constituted an eternal, unconditional promise from Yahweh to uphold the king and his house (2 Sam. 7; Pss. 2, 89, 110),⁷¹ a dynastic promise with profound messianic implications.⁷² The king became something of a metaphor for the whole nation: the king (and thus all Israel) is the special bearer of the promise, with special privilege, and responsibility. The designed purpose for the king (and for Israel) is to grow and

⁶⁶ Roberts, "Zion in the Davidic Empire," 93.

⁶⁷ Tomoo Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology* (BZAW 142; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977).

⁶⁸ Roberts, "Zion in the Davidic Empire," 94-99.

⁶⁹ Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 258; Steven J. L. Croft, *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms* (JSOTSS 44; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 73-132.

⁷⁰ H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 111-36.

⁷¹ Ishida, *Royal Dynasties*, 99-117; Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 264-65.

⁷² Brueggemann, "Trajectories," 171; Keith R. Crim, *The Royal Psalms* (Richmond: John Knox, 1962).

prosper and bless other nations.⁷³ Yahweh's creative power sustains the stability ushered in by the advent of the Davidic monarchy.⁷⁴

Due to the close connection of king and cult, such creative reflection naturally spilled over into the worship of Yahweh. The completion of the temple "carried with it far-reaching changes for the character of Israel's worship. It brought with it a new kind of ideology."⁷⁵ The temple visibly demonstrated that Yahweh had taken up residence in Zion (=Jerusalem), and signalled a universal Royal principle.⁷⁶ Zion, the city of Jerusalem, became Yahweh's temple-likehome; He lived within her, in tent (David) and in temple (Solomon). Israel's declarations finally blur the line between temple and city, moving back and forth between specific references to the temple and a more general reference to the city as a whole.⁷⁷ With a universal vision, the monarchy ritually celebrated creation, unprecedented growth, stability, and the presence of God.⁷⁸

The analysis of Glory in a Royal theology begins with an examination of the narrative literature of Samuel and Kings. Since the work of Leonhard Rost, 1 Samuel 4-6 and 2 Samuel 6 have been considered to be two pieces of a once unified "Ark Narrative." Produced during the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy,

⁷³ Hans Walter Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Yahwist," *Int* 20 (1966): 131-58; Walter Brueggemann, "David and His Theologian," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 156-81; Westermann, *Elements*, 108-109.

⁷⁴ Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 588-94.

⁷⁵ Clements, *God and Temple*, 64.

⁷⁶ Hartmut Gese, *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), 199-200.

⁷⁷ Roberts, "Zion in the Davidic Empire," 99.

⁷⁸ Brueggemann, "Trajectories," 180: a Royal trajectory "(1) prefers to speak in myths of unity; (2) speaks a language of fertility (creation) and continuity (royal institutions); (3) preferred mode of perception is that of universal comprehensiveness; (4) tends to be socially conserving with a primary valuing of stability; [and] (5) focuses on the glory and holiness of God's person and institutions geared to that holiness."

this so-called "Ark Narrative" is thought to have functioned as a *hieros logos* for the movement of the ark to Jerusalem.⁷⁹

1 Samuel 4:21-22 employs כבוד to refer to Yahweh's presence--a presence uniquely connected with ancient Israel's sacred worship object, the ark. Two deaths and the strange name of Phinehas' son אִיכָבוֹד, "without glory," marked the ark's tragic loss to the Philistines. But to the inhabitants of Ashdod, and then to all the Philistines, the ark (and thus the כבוד-presence of Yahweh) brought nothing but trouble: the hand of Yahweh was "כבוד-ish" upon them (1 Sam. 5:6, 11), bringing a plague of tumors. The panic caused by the ark (and thus by Yahweh's כבוד-presence) became a life and death issue for the Philistines. On advice of their "priests and diviners," a decision was made to send the ark back (1 Sam. 5:11). The ark, however, should not go back empty, but should be returned filled with symbols of the plagues. In an ironic demonstration of humility, the Philistines give proper praise to Yahweh and avert "כבוד-ing" their hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh had done (1 Sam. 6:6).⁸⁰ The ark was returned and deposited at Kiriath-jearim (1 Sam. 7:1), where it remained until David moved it to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6).⁸¹ By echoing the Exodus narrative, the כבוד imagery in 1 Samuel 4-6 underscores a blessing/cursing pattern, a pattern which coheres with a larger Royal theology of the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy.

Though (curiously) absent in ark's relocation ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6; cf. 1 Chron. 16),⁸² כבוד appears during the dedication

⁷⁹ Leonhard Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David* (HTIBS 1; Sheffield: Almond, 1982), 6-34; Antony F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam 4-6; 2 Sam 6): A Form-Critical and Tradition-Historical Study* (SBLDS 16; Missoula: SBL/Scholars, 1975); Patrick D. Miller, Jr. and J. J. M. Roberts, *The Hand of the Lord: A Reassessment of the 'Ark Narrative' of 1 Samuel* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins, 1977); cf. R. P. Gordon, *1 and 2 Samuel* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 30-39.

⁸⁰ Peter D. Miscall, *1 Samuel: A Literary Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 29-32.

⁸¹ Ralph W. Klein, *1 Samuel* (WBC 10; Waco: Word, 1983), 56.

⁸² That the narrative of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles does not employ כבוד יְהוָה until after the depositing of the ark in Jerusalem confirms, at least partially, what was argued above: כבוד יְהוָה, as a technical term, addressed

of the Solomonic temple (1 Kgs. 8:11; cf. 2 Chron. 5:14). Once the priests had placed the ark in the temple and had exited, first a "cloud" and then כבוד יהוה filled the temple "so that the priests could not stand to minister" (1 Kings 8:11). After this dramatic, visible demonstration, King Solomon (and not a priest) declared that Yahweh, the creator of the world, had chosen a single place to dwell, the temple. In Mosaic/priestly-like fashion, Solomon turned to the whole assembly and "blessed" them, emphasizing Yahweh's unswerving commitment to the Davidic covenant (1 Kings 8:25). King Solomon, continuing in his priestly role, outlined the Israelites' prerequisite holiness if Yahweh, whose presence is unbounded, would regularly condescend to dwell within the confines of the temple (1 Kings 8:27-53). Finally, priestly King Solomon offered sacrifice when, according to the Chronicler, כבוד יהוה once again dramatically appeared (2 Chron. 7:1, 3).

Though beset with source-critical and redactional problems, 1 Kings 8 and 2 Chronicles 5-7 may well betray older traditions.⁸³ Here, too, כבוד יהוה is closely connected with many themes of a Royal theology. The culmination of the temple's dedication is the descent of כבוד יהוה. Only after the descent of כבוד יהוה, the visible sign of Yahweh's approval, does King Solomon proceed. כבוד יהוה marks off the temple as sacred: even the priests were unable to enter. As interpreted by Solomon, כבוד יהוה bore a visible, undeniable witness to the faithful commitment of Yahweh to the Davidic covenant and lineage. This, no doubt, eased the intermixing of kingly and priestly roles in the person of Solomon: once legitimized by כבוד יהוה, he could then pray, bless, address, and sacrifice.

(and thus first crystallized in) a period of transition after the ark had been brought to Jerusalem. Only after the relocation of the ark does the narrative literature begin to use the technical כבוד יהוה to refer to the visible presence of Yahweh.

⁸³ Childs, *Introduction*, 285-87; Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 274-89; Friedman, *Exile and Narrative*; Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars, 1984).

The three themes of kingship, creation, and worship organize Psalmic Glory language. Psalm 24:7-10 extols the cultically enthroned Yahweh as the cosmic "King of Glory."⁸⁴

Lift up your heads, O gates!
 and be lifted up, O ancient doors!
 that the King of glory may come in.
 Who is the King of glory?
 The Lord, strong and mighty,
 The Lord, mighty in battle!
 Lift up your heads, O gates!
 and be lifted up, O ancient doors!
 that the King of glory may come in.
 Who is the King of glory?
 The Lord of hosts,
 he is the King of Glory.

This Psalm celebrates the movement of the ark to Jerusalem as both establishing the sanctuary and supplying the crowning touch to Israel's military achievements.⁸⁵ The high point of the procession is the theophany of Yahweh's כבוד. The antiphonal cries for the temple doors and gates to open is so that Yahweh may appear.⁸⁶ Only after a triad of requests is Yahweh Sabaoth identified as the "King of Glory."⁸⁷ The Psalm reflects the confluence of theophanic, tribal and Royal traditions to speak of regular worship of Yahweh's presence, his כבוד.

Yahweh maintains a special relationship with the king through his כבוד.⁸⁸ Yahweh's כבוד is a protective shield for David (Psa.

⁸⁴ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 315.

⁸⁵ Cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 119.

⁸⁶ Weiser, *Psalms*, 234-35.

⁸⁷ This one Psalm goes a long way in undermining the thesis propounded by Mettinger in his highly engaging monograph. The fact that both Kabod and Sabaoth are here conjoined casts serious doubt upon the supposed oppositional relationship which Mettinger seeks to show; cf. Mettinger, *Dethronement*, 24-25.

⁸⁸ Weiser, *Psalms*, 117, 214, 454; Craigie, *Psalms*, 74, 190-91; cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 52-53; Kraus, *Psalms*, 138, 140, 285. John H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms* (2d ed; The Biblical Seminar; Sheffield: JSOT, 1986), 142-46, calls attention to how the King's lament concerning

3:3). Yahweh gives his כבוד to the human king (Psa. 21:5-6). David regularly worships Yahweh's כבוד in the sanctuary (Psa. 63:2). When the earthly king defends justice, abundance and untold blessing are ushered in: Yahweh's כבוד fills the whole earth (Psa. 72:19).

The hymns on creation (Pss. 8, 19, 29, 104) also speak pointedly about Yahweh's כבוד. Whether or not one views the "son of man" in Psalm 8 as some sort of primal, kingly figure (cf. Gen. 1:26), there is no denying that a Royal theology pervades the Psalm.⁸⁹ Here, as the high point of creation, God crowns "man" with כבוד (Psa. 8:6). But man is not alone in possessing כבוד: all of nature betrays God's כבוד (Psa. 19:2): the heavens and the firmament, the day (sun) and the night (moon), all created things, possess the indelible marks of the presence of Yahweh. This could, in large measure, be due to the creative, theophanic agency of the כבוד, which "thunders upon the waters" (Psa. 29:3; cf. Gen. 1:1), and whose arrival in the temple cannot be ignored.

The voice of the Lord makes the oaks to whirl,
and strips the forest bare;
and in his temple all cry, "Glory!" (Psa. 29:9)

Creation as the handiwork of Yahweh bears witness to the enduring nature of his כבוד (Psa. 104:31).

Though all creation bears the marks of the presence of Yahweh, the temple is accorded the special honor of being the earthly home of כבוד.

O Lord, I love the habitation of thy house,
and the place where thy glory dwells (Psa. 27:8).

When Yahweh's כבוד fills the sanctuary "salvation is at hand" (Psa. 85:9). Though uniquely tied to a special person, special place, and special people, the Psalmists plead for a universal

the loss of כבוד (Psa. 4:3; 7:6) reflects the same connection between God and King through Glory.

⁸⁹ Kraus, *Psalms*, 180.

theophany of כבוד which would cover the whole earth (Psa. 57:6, 12; 108:6; 113:4) and be observed by all peoples and nations (Psa. 96:3; 97:6). The whole world is thus made a temple for Yahweh's כבוד.

Glory played a profound new role in a Royal theology. The Royal architects ramified the by-then traditional imagery of יהוד כבוד far beyond its initial function. The royal tradents--whoever they may have been--took the previously established "sign" of כבוד, already "full" of cultic legitimizing denotation, and re-invested it with meaning: כבוד came to connote the unqualified blessing of Yahweh in all aspects of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom.⁹⁰ Glory positively addressed the time of the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy. כבוד spoke of human and divine kingship, of stability and regularity in creation, of life and worship. Understood as the source of universal blessing, כבוד (along with a whole constellation of other images) provided a benchmark or a point of reference for those who were experiencing the social change associated with the growth of the Davidic monarchy.

In but a few short generations, however, the zenith of theological and political confidence--the sense of self-assuredness, unimpeachability, and durability--spawned (and no doubt taken to extremes) during the reign of a Royal trajectory soon plummeted to a theology of despair, lament, rationalization and profound reorientation. Glory again took a new shape to address another set of circumstances.

⁹⁰ Hawkes, *Structuralism*, 130-34, discusses Roland Barthes' distinction between language (denotation) and myth (connotation). Hawkes concludes: "In short, the signifiers of connotation are made up of the signs (signifiers related to signifieds) of the denoted system, and this makes connotation, and so literature at large, one of the numbers of 'second-order signifying systems' which we characteristically superimpose upon the 'first-order' system of language" (134). It is precisely this sort of second-level reappropriation which the "Royalists" appear to be doing with the Glory tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROPHETIC REINVESTMENT OF GLORY

The tempering of a Royal theology--in which the Glory tradition played an integral part--no doubt occurred in various stages. Probably early on protests were lodged against the rather mechanical ways of viewing God, the King, and life fostered by a Royal theology.¹ The death of Solomon and the subsequent division of the United Kingdom into two separate kingdoms altered, at least for some, the perception of traditions concerning the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem and Davidic lineage.² But the traumatic theological proviso to a Royal theology, however, was to be issued several generations later when foreign nations--first Assyria, then Babylon and finally Persia--became the determinative powers for Israel and Judah.

The northern Kingdom fell to the Assyrians in 722, while the southern Kingdom became little more than an Assyrian satellite. A century later, the arrival of a second Mesopotamian power, i.e., Babylon, signaled the beginning of the end for Judah and Jerusalem. Three Judean kings and two abortive rebellions later, Jerusalem found herself in rubble and her citizens deported to first Babylon and then Persia. Only after a captivity period of

¹ Joachim Becker, *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 14-17; Paul D. Hanson, "The Origin and Nature of Prophetic Political Engagement in Ancient Israel," *Drew Gateway* 55 (1984): 33-52. The canonical books of Job and Ecclesiastes were probably not the first of the Wisdom traditions to object to the mechanical pictures of God and life. However, discovering the antecedents of such protest literature during or shortly after the United Kingdom is problematical. R. N. Whybray, "Wisdom Literature in the Reigns of David and Solomon," *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. T. Ishida; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 13-26.

² Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 67-69.

several decades did the people begin to trickle back to their homeland. The subsequent attempts at reorganization, reconstruction and reform were hampered both internally and externally. When compared with the greatness Davidic-Solomonic era, the results were less than impressive.³

The theological implications inherent in these events were enormous. Questions arose concerning the will and sovereignty of the Lord, the role of Israel/Judah as Yahweh's elect, and the promise of the land to Israel/Judah. The events of 722 and 587 revealed cracks in the chief cornerstone of a Royal theology; the holy city of Jerusalem was not inviolable. Fall and exile demanded a Royal explanation--how? why? If pressed for answers to questions concerning the past, the present also weighed heavily. The deported exiles needed guidance on how to live and worship in a pagan land. The captives no doubt wondered about the future. Would they ever see their homeland again? What would life be like after return?

The Hebrew canon reflects various ways of coping with the historical-theological crisis surrounding destruction, exile, and restoration.⁴ The particular aim of this investigation, however, is limited to the way in which Glory, chiefly the prophetic use/development of it, figured into the creative process of coping. The investigation should proceed by examining the pre-exilic, exilic, post-exilic Glory tradition; the nature and shape of the prophetic corpus retards any such approach. Thus, the following discussion of Glory is conducted in terms of the whole prophetic corpus throughout the whole time period (the complex of events preceding the exile, during the exile and post-exilic period). Though less than ideal, such an approach does not

³ J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986); John Bright, *A History of Israel* (3d ed; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981).

⁴ Cf. Thomas M. Raitt, *A Theology of Exile: Judgment/Deliverance in Jeremiah and Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); Ralph Klein, *Israel in Exile*; Walter Brueggemann, *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

preclude discovering the way(s) in which Glory developed in the hands of the prophetic tradents.⁵

In similar ways, both the northern (Ephraimite) and southern (Judean) prophetic traditions were indebted to the Royal theology fostered during Davidic-Solomonic rule.⁶ The prophetic use owes much to the older strands of the Glory tradition--i.e., the revelation of כבוד יהוה at Sinai and in the temple, the theophanic revelation of כבוד, and the Royal development כבוד. Yet the prophets extend the signifying range of the כבוד in order to grapple with traumatic changes of destruction and exile.

One of the most significant developments by the prophetic tradition occurs when Yahweh's כבוד spells judgment. In warning of the anarchy which will accompany the collapse of Jerusalem, Isaiah lays the burden of guilt at the feet of the inhabitants of Judah: the impending doom (no doubt a reference to the approach of the Assyrians) correlates with the offensiveness of the people's words and deeds. Isaiah writes (3:8):

For Jerusalem has stumbled,
and Judah has fallen;

⁵ There is no consensus on the complex (and sometimes suspect) tasks of identifying, dating and discerning the kerygmatic intent of blocks of prophetic material. Cf. Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (7 vols; Gutersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1974-1977); Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); Klaus Koch, *The Prophets* (2 vols; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); Ronald E. Clements, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah," *Int* 36 (1982): 117-29; idem, "Beyond Tradition-History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 95-113; Gerald T. Sheppard, "The Anti-Assyrian Redaction and the Canonical Context of Isaiah 1-39," *JBL* 104 (1985): 193-216. This important and complex debate--a debate which is clearly beyond the scope of this study--must be left to others. Though possibly glossing over some of the subtleties associated with a particular time period, socio-political situation, or geographical region, the synthetic analysis presented below nonetheless accurately captures the kerygmatic tenor of Glory. For such a procedure on a larger scale, see Donald E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

⁶ The common threat of foreign domination helped erase/ease the (regional/sociological) differences between the two traditions which developed after the death of Solomon. Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 301-6.

because their speech and their deeds
are against the Lord,
defying his presence of glory (עני כבודו).⁷

Instead of signifying blessing, Yahweh's כבוד becomes a standard for assigning guilt, a guilt which translates into cursing. The lack of relational integrity contradicts the gift of Yahweh's presence and does not go unnoticed or unpunished. Isaiah ironically employs כבוד, the sign of the Lord's approval in a Royal theology, to mark the failure of Judah.⁸

Judgment for abusing the gift of Yahweh's כבוד can also be detected in other prophetic material. Jeremiah indicates that the Lord will punish his people for their religious infidelity. The prophet records the Lord's rhetorical question (Jer. 2:11a).

Has a nation changed its gods,
even though they are no gods?

Jeremiah then reports Yahweh's charge that his nation has committed an unparalleled capitulation.

But my people have changed their glory (כבוד)
for that which does not profit.
Be appalled, O heavens, at this,
be shocked, be utterly desolate,
says the Lord,
for my people have committed two evils:
they have forsaken me,
the fountain of living waters,
and hewed out cisterns for themselves,

⁷ The MT reads "eyes of his glory." This reading, however, is variously amended by either deleting "eyes" (e.g., Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972], 42) or reading "presence" (e.g., Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], 48). For detailed textual evidence, see Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja* (BK 10; Neukirchener: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1980), 1:117.

⁸ Commentators variously construe the referent of the כבוד in this passage. Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 42, defines the referent as "saving acts." Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (3 vols; NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 1:151, understands כבוד as a reference to "creation." Following Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:125-26, the parallel between "name" and "glory" in verse 8b defines the referent as Yahweh's presence.

broken cisterns,
that can hold no water (Jer. 2:11b-13).⁹

The language of Jeremiah sets Judah's abandonment of the Lord in a blessing/cursing context.¹⁰ Only this nation would turn its back upon Yahweh's כבוד and search elsewhere for sources of life. The desertion is an appalling double evil: by forsaking the presence of Yahweh, his כבוד, the nation has not only lost the nourishment of life provided by the "living waters," but has fruitlessly hewn cisterns which "can hold no water" (v. 13). Two other passages, which level similar accusations, betray tradition-historical connections with the use of Glory at Jeremiah 2:11, though the exact relationship between the three cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.¹¹ Hosea. 4:7 refers to an ironic blessing/cursing reversal: "The more they increased, the more they sinned against me; I will change their glory into shame." Instead of Yahweh's כבוד bringing blessing and life, sin has prompted judgment, the withdrawal/transformation of כבוד.¹²

⁹ The MT of v. 11b reads "its glory" and is (probably) a scribal correction of "my glory" or "their glory." In either case, the referent is to Yahweh's presence. John Bright, *Jeremiah: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 21; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 15; J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 166 n. 7, 170; Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 125-26. Cf. Norbert Ittmann, *Die Konfessionen Jeremias: Ihre Bedeutung für die Verkündigung des Propheten* (WMANT 54; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981), 128-29.

¹⁰ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 126-27.

¹¹ Ronald E. Clements, *Jeremiah* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox, 1988), 30-32.

¹² Just exactly what "sin" was committed is unclear--i.e., whether increased numbers of a compromised priesthood (James L. Mays, *Hosea* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969, 70] or the abundance of "pride" (Francis I. Andersen and David N. Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 24; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980], 354). What is clear, however, is that the "sin" has prompted the Lord to withdraw his כבוד and allow it to be replaced with "shame," something disgraceful--presumably imagery connected with Baal worship. See Anderson and Freedman, *Hosea*, 354-58, for a consideration of various interpretations. Psalm 106:19-20 betrays a clear allusion to the revelation of Yahweh's כבוד upon Sinai: "They made a calf in Horeb and worshiped a

Hosea confirms yet another consequence of defiant and promiscuous behavior (Hos. 10:5-6):

The inhabitants of Samaria tremble
for the calf of Bethaven.
Its people shall mourn for it,
and its idolatrous priests shall wail over it,
over its glory (כבוד) which has departed from it.
Yea, the thing itself shall be carried to Assyria,
as tribute to the great king.
Ephraim shall be put to shame,
and Israel shall be ashamed of his idol.

By alluding to the capture of the ark by the Philistines (2 Sam. 4), Hosea foresees that Yahweh's כבוד will once again be "exiled."¹³ When this "deportation" occurs, the creative processes of life cease (Hos. 9:11-12):

Ephraim's glory shall fly away like a bird--
no birth, no pregnancy, no conception!
Even if they bring up children,
I will bereave them till none is left.
Woe to them
when I depart from them!

Like a "miscarrying womb" and "dry breasts" (Hos. 9:14), the absence of Yahweh's כבוד signifies infertility--"no birth, no pregnancy, no conception" (v. 11b). כבוד, the symbol of his life-giving presence among his chosen people in a Royal theology, shall "fly away like a bird" (v. 11a).

Foreign, pagan nations will also experience the wrath of Yahweh. Isaiah speaks of the day when the Lord will "arrive" to judge Assyria (Isa. 30:27-28):

Behold, the name of the Lord comes from far,
burning with his anger,

molten image. They exchanged the glory of Yahweh for the image of an ox that eats grass."

¹³ Mays, *Hosea*, 141; Anderson and Freedman, *Hosea*, 557; Grace I. Emmerson, *Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective* (JSOTSS 28; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 127-28. Cf. Mic. 1:15.

and in thick (כבוד) rising smoke;
 his lips are full of indignation,
 and his tongue is like a devouring fire;
 his breath is like an overflowing stream
 that reaches up to the neck;
 to sift the nations with the sieve of destruction,
 and to place on the jaws of the peoples a bridle that
 leads astray.

The passage employs traditional theophanic imagery.¹⁴ The prophet's reference to the "thick rising smoke" unites Sinaitic Glory imagery with that of theophany. The "כבוד-ish" smoke hearkens back to the "כבוד-ish" cloud of Sinai (Exod. 19:16).¹⁵ That the "כבוד-ish" smoke parallels other divine presence terminology--"name" (שם), "fire" (אש), "breath" (רוח), especially in the context of theophany--reinforces this interpretation.¹⁶ The "arrival" of an enraged Yahweh in "smoke" (v. 27) spells doom and for Assyria, who will be sifted "with the sieve of destruction" (v. 30).

Habakkuk also issues a warning to foreign nations--especially to nations who practice oppression. The utilitarian expendability of human life and total disregard for justice will incur the fierce, destructive anger of Yahweh.¹⁷ Though Yahweh be hid for a season, soon, in a great judgment theophany, "the whole earth will be filled with the knowledge of יהוה" (Hab. 2:14). By such an oracle (2:12-14), the prophet affirms that "both the punishment of disobedient Israel by means of the Babylonians,

¹⁴ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 56-59; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 3:1215; Clements, *Isaiah*, 252.

¹⁵ Cf. Victor Sasson, "An Unrecognized 'Smoke-Signal' in Isaiah XXX 27," *VT* 33 (1983): 90-95, who interprets "smoke," based upon מסת in the Lachish letters, as "smoke signal" of danger. As an adjective, כבוד then refers to the density of the smoke signal. Further, when Sasson reads the imagery in a (hypothetical) mythic context, the passage likens the Lord to a "dragon, moving in on its prey."

¹⁶ Claus Schedl, "Gedanken zu einem 'Übersetzungsvorschlag' (Is 30,27-33)," *BZ* 14 (1970): 242-43.

¹⁷ Elizabeth R. Achtemeier, *Nahum-Malachi* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox, 1986), 50.

and the subsequent destruction of that arrogant nation, belong to the one consistent purpose of Yahweh."¹⁸

Though Yahweh's verdict looms large on the horizon, the prophets look beyond it for a day of forgiveness, deliverance, restoration--and even eschatological transformation.¹⁹ (1) At a historical level, the prophets give assurance that the Yahweh has not abandoned his people. Accordingly, the prophets extend the signifying range of Glory beyond that of judgment. The prophetic word pledges Yahweh's presence, his כבוד, in the midst of exile. Through his כבוד Yahweh identifies with his people's tragic suffering. כבוד will also be instrumental in effecting the exiles' release and return to their homeland. (2) The prophets also betray a perspective which looks beyond the immediate circumstances and begins to focus attention upon the end of history. As defined by Paul Hanson, the prophets betray the first-fruits of an apocalyptic world view.²⁰ Historical

¹⁸ Childs, *Introduction*, 453.

¹⁹ Ronald E. Clements, "Patterns in the Prophetic Canon," *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology* (ed. G. W. Coats and B. O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 42-55.

²⁰ Paul Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); idem, "Apocalypse, genre," *IDBSup*, 27-28; idem, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSup*, 28-34. Following Hanson, scholars now distinguish between apocalypses, apocalypticism and apocalyptic eschatology. Though a post-exilic literary phenomenon, apocalypses share many typical features and motifs with the writings of the prophets. In fact, the historical trajectory of early Jewish apocalypses can be traced back to the visionary material in Zechariah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, Michaiah ben Imlah, and (possibly) even into Canaanite religion--though none of this earlier material can really be classified as an apocalypse. As opposed to the literary phenomena of apocalypses, apocalypticism is a visionary system of thought, a symbolic universe, espoused by a specific, marginalized community. In response to historical and social conditions, the community generates an alternative symbolic universe to protest and/or oppose the ideology of those in power. As a codified system, apocalypticism establishes group identity vis-à-vis other segments of society and eases the contradictions between hope and alienation. According to Hanson, apocalyptic groups emerged in the post-exilic period. Apocalyptic eschatology is not a genre, nor is it a system of thought relating to a social movement. Apocalyptic eschatology is religious perspective which can be held by various groups in varying degrees. Apocalyptic eschatology grows out of prophetic eschatology and leads on to apocalypticism--though Hanson argues against a total linear development.

catastrophes, though certainly still regarded as a "terrifying dialogue with Yahweh," take on a new and positive signification since they point to a re-created and transformed future.²¹ כבוד plays a key role in this apocalyptic view of the end: Yahweh's כבוד inaugurates and defines the new, transformed existence.

The near parabolic activity of כבוד יהוה in Ezekiel typifies the prophetic judgment-restoration-transformation pattern.²² Indebted to the older Sinaitic and Royal traditions,²³ כבוד יהוה helps structure the disparate parts of Ezekiel's prophecy.²⁴ After figuring significantly in the prophet's overwhelming call and commissioning experiences (1:28; 3:12, 23), כבוד יהוה appears yet again to the prophet (8:4)--this time to guide him through abominations committed in Jerusalem's temple (8:5-18). The prophet witnesses the great "guilt of all the house of Israel and Judah." Because of the people's sin, כבוד יהוה begins a systematic withdrawal--from the cherubim (9:3; 10:4), to the threshold of the temple (10:18), finally departing through the east gate of the city to rest upon the Mount of Olives (10:19; 11:22,

²¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Bollingen Series 46; New York: Pantheon, 1954), 102-10, details the significance of such a shift in prophetic thought. Previously, Israel regarded every historical calamity as punishment from the hand of Yahweh. However, the prophets looked beyond the historical events in order to perceive--if they could--the will of Yahweh. In the prophetic framework, historical catastrophes (Eliade's "negative theophanies") became witnesses to Yahweh's coherent divine will. Thus, the prophets "apocalypticize" the "myth" of Yahweh. Yahweh does not conquer evil and chaos in the fall of every year, but only once--and for all times.

²² A. Joseph Everson, "Ezekiel and the Glory of the Lord Tradition," *Sin, Salvation, and the Spirit* (ed. D. Durken; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1979), 163-76.

²³ Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (2 vols; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979, 1983), 1:53-54, 123-25; H. van Dyke Parunak, "The Literary Architecture of Ezekiel's MAR OT ELOHIM," *JBL* 99 (1980): 61-74 (especially 72).

²⁴ Shemaryahu Talmon and Michael Fishbane, "The Structuring of Biblical Books: Studies in the Book of Ezekiel," *ASTI* 10 (1975/1976): 127-53; Rolf Rendtorff, *Old Testament*, 210, 213; Parunak, "Literary Architecture," 61-74; Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible*, 484-89. Cf. G. R. Berry, "The Glory of Yahweh and the Temple," *JBL* 56 (1937): 115-17.

23). Yahweh abandons the temple as a sign of judgement; Yahweh's כבוד is exiled.²⁵

True to the prophetic thought pattern, judgment does not fall upon Israel and Judah alone; Ezekiel promises all nations will be judged on a day when Yahweh "will manifest his כבוד" (28:22; 39:13, 21).²⁶ But judgment is not the end of the matter. Out of the ashes of judgment a hope is born, a hope for a day and time when proper worship will occur in a new place by a new people. In chapters 40-48, כבוד יהוה returns, along the very same route used for departure (43:2, 4, 5; 44:4) to dwell once again with the people. כבוד יהוה signifies the pure, true--and now purged--people in the presence of the Yahweh.²⁷

Zechariah also employs כבוד imagery to define future existence with Yahweh. The prophet visualizes Jerusalem at the end of the age.

And I lifted my eyes and saw, and behold, a man with a measuring line in his hand! Then I said, "Where are you going?" And he said to me, "To measure Jerusalem, to see what is its breadth and what is its length." And behold, the angel who talked with me came forward, and another angel came forward to meet him, and said to him, "Run, say to that your man, 'Jerusalem shall be inhabited as villages without walls, because of the multitude of men and cattle in it. For I will be to her a wall of fire round about, says the Lord, and I will be the glory (כבוד) within her'" (Zech. 2:1-5 [Heb. 2:5-9]).

Through this "night vision" Zechariah relates an ideal picture of an unmeasurable Jerusalem. Unparalleled abundance will return to the city. The unwalled city will be encircled by

²⁵ H. G. May, "The Departure of the Glory of Yahweh," *JBL* 56 (1937): 309-21, incorrectly limits כבוד יהוה to phenomena associated with (Babylonian?/Persian?) solar worship. Cf. Isa. 59:19.

²⁶ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:98, 318-19, interprets the two niphals of Ezek. 28:22 and 39:13 to mean, "I [God] will glorify myself"--i.e., "be praised." However, in both cases the niphal should be translated as "reveal my glory"--i.e., "reveal my presence." In Ezek. 28:22 niphal is parallel with "manifest myself." The niphal in Ezek. 39:13 is parallel to "display my glory" in Ezek. 39:21.

²⁷ Paul D. Hanson, *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 221-22.

Yahweh's protective fiery presence.²⁸ Yahweh himself, i.e., his כבוד, will dwell in unmediated fashion within the midst of her. Zechariah's visionary depiction of Jerusalem correlates with that of Ezekiel (Ezek. 40-48).²⁹

Isaiah, too, paints a picture of hope. In passage after passage saturated with the images of Exodus, Sinai and Zion,³⁰ the prophecy portrays the dawning of a new day--a dramatic day of reversal (Isa. 60:1-3).

Arise, shine; for your light has come,
and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you.
For behold, darkness shall cover the earth,
and thick darkness the peoples;
but the Lord will arise upon you,
and his glory will be seen upon you.
And nations shall come to your light,
and kings to the brightness of your rising.

The prophet describes a grand and glorious world theophany, a revelation of כבוד which will reverse the circumstances of Israel and Judah, transform society, human beings and nature, and reassert the reign of Yahweh.³¹ כבוד reverses the historical

²⁸ Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25B; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 158-61.

²⁹ Hinckley G. Mitchell, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), 136-40; Cameron MacKay, "Zechariah in Relation to Ezekiel 40-48," *EvQ* 40 (1968): 197-210; Christian Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Stellung im Zusammenhang der Visionsberichte im Alten Testament und zu ihrem Bildmaterial* (FRLANT 117; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 174-76; David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 170-72.

³⁰ Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 177-95; Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 21-27; John H. Eaton, *Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1979).

³¹ J. J. M. Roberts, "Divine King and the Human Community in Isaiah's Vision of the Future," *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George Mendenhall* (ed. H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 127-36; idem, "Isaiah in

fortunes of Israel, but also transforms individuals: An archetype of conversion, Yahweh's כבוד will be seen *upon* the chosen, and such personal transformation spirals out to the nations.

This new day is genetically related to the judgment which Israel has suffered at the hands of the oppressor nations. Though Israel and Judah's profanation of blessing forced Yahweh's hand in delivering them over to tyrannical powers, Yahweh will again come.

The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad,
the desert shall rejoice and blossom;
like the crocus it shall blossom abundantly,
and rejoice with joy and singing.
The glory of Lebanon shall be given to it,
the majesty of Carmel and Sharon.
They shall see the glory of the Lord (יהוה כבוד),
the majesty of our God (Isa. 35:1-2).

In preparing a "highway," a "Holy Way" upon which the "redeemed shall walk" (Isa. 35:8, 9), Yahweh will despoil those who had sided against Israel and Judah.³² No doubt a pun on כבוד (as "wealth" and "fame"), the oppressor nations shall have their "glory" and "majesty" given away. The revelation of יהוה כבוד (as the visible presence of Yahweh) will enact a joyful, life-giving, wilderness-journey-like return for the "ransomed of the Lord" (Isa. 35:1-2, 10), and simultaneously dispense "vengeance" and "recompense" upon Israel's captors (Isa. 35:4).

The theophanic parade of Yahweh's כבוד will telegraph to all nations the news of his sympathetic solidarity with his people. In Isaiah 40:1-11, the prophet mixes Sinai, Exodus and Royal motifs to describe Israel's return.

A voice cries:

"In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord,
make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

Old Testament Theology," *Interpreting the Prophets* (ed. J. L. Mays and P. J. Achtemeier; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 62-74.

³² John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (WBC 25; Waco: Word, 1987), 14-15.

Every valley shall be lifted up,
 and every mountain and hill be made low;
 the uneven ground shall become level,
 and the rough places a plain.
 And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,
 and all flesh shall see it together,
 for the mouth of the Lord has spoken."

Like a royal procession,³³ the arrival of כבוד יהוה in the sight of "all flesh" not only secures the release of Israel/Judah but effects a (theophanic) cosmic leveling and a new, second Exodus.³⁴ Yahweh promises his protective כבוד will ensure the safe return of Israel/Judah.

Then shall your light break forth like the dawn,
 and your healing shall spring up speedily;
 your righteousness shall go before you,
 the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard.
 Then you shall call, and the Lord will answer;
 you shall cry, and he will say, Here I am (Isa. 58:8).

Like the first days of creation, a light shall shine, and life-giving healing shall spring up. Instead of a pillar of fire and a cloud, כבוד יהוה will guide the people home.³⁵

The cosmic, theophanic arrival of the Yahweh to rescue his chosen is expedited through the suffering of a/the "servant" upon whom Yahweh's כבוד rests. In three texts כבוד is brought into connection with the "servant" figure.³⁶

³³ Westermann, *Isaiah*, 37-39.

³⁴ Kuntz, *Self-Revelation*, 166-68; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib 43; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 97; C. van Leeuwen, "De Openbaring van de Kebod YHWH in Jesaja 40:5," *De Knecht: Studies rondom Deutero-Jesaja* (ed. H. H. Grosheide; Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1978), 93-101; Watts, *Exodus*, 33-66, 80-81. Both Stuhlmueller and van Leeuwen argue that Sinaitic and Royal strands of the כבוד יהוה tradition coalesce in Isaiah 40:5. Cf. Christopher R. North, *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL-LV* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 76-77; Karl Elliger, *Deuteriojesaja* (BK 11; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner, 1978), 1:20, who limit the connotation to "majesty" and "Wirken" respectively, without any re-shaping of the tradition.

³⁵ Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 183. Cf. Isa. 52:12.

³⁶ Sigmund Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), 137, 214; V. de Leeuw, *De Ebed Jahweh-Prophetieën: Historisch-*

I am the Lord, that is my name;
 my glory (וְכְבוֹדִי) I give to no other,
 nor my praise to graven images (Isa. 42:8).

I will say to the north, Give up,
 and to the south, Do not withhold;
 bring my sons from afar and my daughters from the end of the earth,
 every one who is called by my name,
 whom I created for my glory (וְלִכְבוֹדִי),
 whom I formed and made (Isa. 43:6-7).

Behold, I have refined you, but not like silver;
 I have tried you in the furnace of affliction.
 For my own sake, for my own sake I do it,
 for how should my name be profaned?
 My glory (וְכְבוֹדִי) I will not give to another (Isa. 48:10-11).

All three texts emphasize the unique relationship between Yahweh and the "servant" through כְּבוֹד. כְּבוֹד will be given to no one else (42:8; 48:11); the "servant" was created especially to bear כְּבוֹד (43:7).³⁷

Along with the anticipated arrival of Yahweh, what once was--the Davidic Zion--will not only be restored but re-created. Yahweh's כְּבוֹד figures prominently in this radical, re-creative transformation of Israel's existence. Mixing Sinaitic with Royal imagery, the prophet speaks of a day when the Lord will once again "tabernacle" in Zion.³⁸

In that day the branch of the Lord shall be glorious, and the fruit of the land shall be the pride and glory of the survivors of Israel. And he who is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem will be called holy, every one who has been recorded for life in Jerusalem, when the Lord shall have

Kritisch Onderzoek naar hun Ontstaan en hun Betekenis (Assen: Van Gorcum/G. A. Hak & Dr. H. J. Prakke, 1956), 177-78; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 83-99; Watts, *Isaiah*, 34-66, 121-36; and, on the identity of the "servant" as Israel in Isa. 40-48, Peter Wilcox and David Paton-Williams, "The Servant in Deutero-Isaiah," *JSOT* 42 (1988): 79-102.

³⁷ Ronald E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant* (SBT; Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1965), 114-15.

³⁸ Kuntz, *Self-Revelation*, 84; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:161; Clements, *Isaiah*, 54-55.

washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning. Then the Lord will create over the whole side of Mount Zion and over her assemblies a cloud by day, and smoke and the shining of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory there will be a canopy and a pavilion. It will be a shade by day from the heat, and refuge and a shelter from the storm and rain (Isa. 2:4-6).

This time, however, Yahweh will "create" a (new) place for his כבוד to rest. From "Mount Zion and in Jerusalem" the Lord will reign; here Yahweh again will "manifest his כבוד" (Isa. 24:23).

When Zion's new day dawns, כבוד defines what life will be like. Drenched in כבוד, Zion becomes the focal point for a great ingathering (Isa. 59:15b-21; 60:1-2). The sanctuary itself will be restored to its place as the footstool of Yahweh's כבוד (Isa. 60:13; cf. Hag. 1:8; 2:3, 7, 9). The land of Israel will then be reconstituted as a place of nourishment and life (Isa. 4:2); fertility will return to Jerusalem and all "shall drink deeply with delight from the abundance of her כבוד" (Isa. 66:11). In the new Zion, Yahweh, the only and true righteous King, will reign and protect (58:8; cf. Psa 145:11-12). Even the once oppressor nations will experience the peace ushered in with Yahweh's re-creative theophany. The nations will be gathered together so that even they may see and thus fear כבוד יהוה (62:2; 66:18-19; cf. Psa. 102:16).

The prophets employ the Royal Davidic promise tradition to speak of the new configuration of Israel's future.³⁹ Isaiah connects Glory with that of the Davidic Messiah. Admittedly, the promised Davidic Messiah is not identified as כבוד יהוה nor is כבוד even used as an attribute of the future Davidic king.⁴⁰

³⁹ Isa. 4:2; 7:10-17; 8:8b; 8:10b; 9:1-6; 10:21; 11:1-9; 11:10; 16:5; 32:1-8; 40:3-11; Jer. 17:25; 23:5; 30:9; 30:21; Ezek. 17:22-24; 34:23; 37:22-25; Hos. 3:4; Amos 9:11; Mic. 4:8; 5:1-3; Zech. 9:9; Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 10-20; Bruce, *Development*, 68-78; Eaton, *Festal Drama*, 103-4.

⁴⁰ Klaus-Dietrich Schunck, "Die Attribute des eschatologischen Messias," *TLZ* 111 (1986): 341-51.

Isaiah does introduce כבוד into the field of signifiers which define the future Davidic kingdom.⁴¹

In that day the branch of the Lord shall be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land shall be the pride and the glory of the survivors of Israel (Isa. 4:2).

But there will be no gloom for her that was in anguish. In the former time he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he will make glorious the way of the sea, the land beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations (Isa. 9:1).

In that day the root of Jesse shall stand as an ensign to the peoples; him shall the nations seek, and his dwellings shall be glorious (Isa. 11:10).

In some future day, the "branch," the "child," the "root of Jesse," will inaugurate an age characterized by כבוד.⁴²

The prophets time and time again look to the future with a profound visionary perspective, and כבוד becomes a key image in defining this future. As Hanson notes, such visionary use of language marks a shift in the movement to apocalyptic eschatology and apocalypticism. כבוד figures into the prophets' visions and dreams of the future (e.g., Ezek. 40-48; Zech. 2). Up to this point, the discussion has neglected a most prominent visionary experience of the prophets--their call experiences.⁴³

⁴¹ Walter Harrelson, "Nonroyal Motifs in the Royal Eschatology," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 147-65, who demonstrates that non-royal traditions (i.e., images associated with the tribal confederacy) can be interpolated into the prophetic re-casting of a Royal theology.

⁴² Mowinkel, *He That Cometh*, 176-78; Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, 51, 112; Cf. J. A. Emerton, "Some Linguistic Historical Problems in Isaiah VIII. 23," *JSS* 14 (1969): 151-75, who argues, followed by Clements, *Isaiah*, 104, that כבוד of Isa. 8:23 should be understood as referring to oppression (presumably from the idea of "heaviness"). However, as Emerton notes, "Problems," 158, the verbal forms of כבוד possess a wide range of meaning, including reference to the revelation of Yahweh's presence.

⁴³ Burke O. Long, "Prophetic Call Traditions and Reports of Visions," *ZAW* 84 (1972): 494-500, argues that features of prophetic calls--i.e., vision and divine word--share common stylistic roots with ancient Near Eastern epiphanic vision reports. Long attempts to flesh out such epiphanic

Attention is now turned to the prophetic call narratives and the role which Glory plays in them.

Walther Zimmerli pioneered the application form-critical and tradition-historical methods to the prophetic call passages. He distinguishes between two types of call narratives.⁴⁴ One type of call narrative can be seen in the calls of Moses, Gideon and Jeremiah, which consisted of a divine appearance, an expression of reluctance on the part of the person being called, and, in response to the reluctance, promises or signs from Yahweh. The calls of Isaiah and Ezekiel comprise a second type. The formal difference between the calls of Moses, Gideon and Jeremiah on the one hand and Ezekiel on the other is the element of "reluctance" or "refusal." For Ezekiel, there is no refusal. Zimmerli discovers the tradition-historical antecedents of Ezekiel's call in the visions of Isaiah 6 and 1 Kings 22 (and not in the calls of Moses or Gideon).⁴⁵ Though Zimmerli wishes to

vision reports in his "Reports of Visions Among the Prophets," *JBL* 95 (1976): 353-65 (cf. Martin J. Buss, "Anthropological Perspective Upon Prophetic Call Narratives," *Semeia* 20 [1981]: 10-30). However, Long's synchronic and literary approach (however justifiable at one level) fails to appreciate distinctive diachronic form-critical and tradition-historical developments.

⁴⁴ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:97-100. Though Zimmerli claims to be doing both form- and tradition-criticism, David L. Petersen, *The Roles of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSS 17; Sheffield: JSOT, 1981), 79, argues that the latter of the two methods dominates.

⁴⁵ Following the leads of D. H. Muller and A. Alt, Zimmerli presses the tradition-historical connections of Isa. 6 with 1 Kgs. 22. Both passages (1) depict the Lord seated upon the throne, who was (2) surrounded by heavenly attendants; (3) contain a rhetorical question from the Lord concerning who will do his bidding, which (4) is then answered. However, Zimmerli himself points out some differences between Isa. 6 and 1 Kgs. 22: (1) the latter is "no call narrative in the strict sense" and it is more akin to that of a commissioning (of a false spirit at that!), and (2) "the divine court in 1 Kgs. 22 is to be sought in Yahweh's heavenly palace," while Isaiah's vision took place in an earthly temple. Despite these and other variables which witness to the fact that there is no "fixed formula" (starres Formular) of such "call narratives," Zimmerli concludes that the elements of vision and commission remain constant and thus it is legitimate to speak of a second type of call form. This second type, in distinction to the calls of Moses, Gideon, Saul, and Jeremiah, can be traced from 1 Kgs. 22, to Isa. 6, to Ezek. 1, and even on into the New Testament (Acts 9, 22, 26; cf. Gal. 1). Following Zimmerli, Petersen, *The Roles of Israel's Prophets*, 76-79, also

make form-critical distinctions between two different types of call narratives in the Hebrew Bible, his analysis fails to account for a *Sitz im Leben* for the *Gattungen* he identifies.

Norman Habel, in his form-critical analysis of call narratives, reaches a different conclusion from that of Zimmerli.⁴⁶ Habel examines the call passages of Gideon and Moses (Exod. 3:1-12; Jud. 6:11b-17), the call of Jeremiah (Jer. 1:4-10), the calls of Isaiah and Ezekiel (Isa. 6; Ezek. 1), and the call of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40:1-11). In each case, Habel detects a formal structure: (1) a description of the confrontation between the prophet and God; (2) an introductory word which provided background for the call; (3) a direct, personal, imperatival commission of the prophet by God; (4) an objection by the prophet to the commission; (5) a word of reassurance by God to the prophet; and (6) a concluding sign which assured the prophet of God's presence and conferred God's authority to the prophet. Based on this recurring and consistent structure, Habel concludes:

There can be little doubt that the classical prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and II Isaiah appropriate and develop the call traditions reflected in the structure of the calls of Moses and Gideon. By using the same call *Gattung* the prophets in question establish a specific link with the past history of Israel.⁴⁷

Habel then seeks to establish a plausible *Sitz im Leben* for the call *Gattung*. Based upon Westermann's understanding of prophecy as a "messenger's speech" (*Botenwort*),⁴⁸ Habel queries whether or not the commissioning of a messenger might

distinguishes between the calls of Isaiah 6 (and 1 Kgs. 22) and Jeremiah 1 (and the calls of Moses, Gideon, and Saul). According to Petersen, the two types of calls reflect two different traditions; and "these two traditions are characteristic of the southern and northern societies, respectively." This is all in line with Petersen's somewhat suspect analysis of the differing "roles" of the prophets in Israel and Judah.

⁴⁶ Norman Habel, "The Form and Significance of Call Narratives," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 297-323.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁴⁸ Claus Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 98-128.

prove to be a fruitful avenue of investigation. Habel examines Genesis 24:35-48, Abraham's commissioning of a servant, and discovers the same formal structure as that underlying the prophetic calls.

One logical answer is that the *Gattung* for the call of a divine representative was taken over from the practice reflected in Gen. 24 34-48 according to which ambassadors or messengers on a special mission presented their credentials in a specific order and manner. ... The *Gattung* concerns the commissioning of messengers in God's service. They are, however, both messengers and more than messengers, for they represent their Overlord abroad.⁴⁹

Habel concludes that there is but one call *Gattung*, and that the prophets employed the *Gattung* to legitimate their ministry and word.⁵⁰ Though identifying a slightly different formal structure, Benjamin Hubbard's extensive analysis of call narratives confirms Habel's form-critical work.⁵¹ The presence of a heavenly council in Isaiah 6 and 40 or the detailed visionary

⁴⁹ Habel, "Form and Significance," 322. Cf. Childs, *Exodus*, 53-56, who cautiously uses the work of Habel. Against the source critics who dissect the call of Moses into many pieces, Childs employs Habel to argue that "there is more unity in the present text than has been generally recognized." However, Childs is suspicious of the life-setting which Habel proposes, although it is arguable whether Habel was attempting to "subsume the prophetic office under the simple title of messenger."

⁵⁰ Ernest Jenni, "Jesajas Berufung in der neueren Forschung," *BZ* 15 (1959): 321-39 (especially 328); Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:235-42 (especially 238). On the form and function of Isa. 40 as call, see Westermann, *Isaiah* 40-66, 43; J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (AB 20; Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), 17; Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55* (BZAW 141; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1976), 82-86; cf. Watts, *Isaiah* 33-66, 78-79.

⁵¹ Benjamin J. Hubbard, *The Matthean Redaction of a Primitive Apostolic Commissioning: An Exegesis of Matthew 28:16-20* (SBLDS 19; Missoula: SBL/Scholars, 1974), 25-67; idem, "Commissioning Stories in Luke-Acts: A Study of Their Antecedents, Form and Content," *Semeia* 8 (1977): 103-26. Hubbard demonstrates a seven-fold form: (1) a circumstantial introduction; (2) confrontation between commissioner (usually the deity) and the commissioned; (3) reaction to the holy presence; (4) the commission proper; (5) a protest to the commission; (6) reassurance by the deity; and (7) a conclusion. Hubbard discerns this pattern in 27 commissioning passages in the Hebrew Bible, 10 passages in other literature from the ancient Near East, and some 25 passages in the New Testament.

elements of Ezekiel 1 do not reflect a different *Gattung*.⁵² The visionary elements simply represent different stages in the *Gattungsgeschichte* of a call narrative--stages in which new elements (i.e., envisioning the hosts of heaven) were introduced.⁵³

⁵² Cf. N. L. A. Tidwell, "WA OMAR (Zech. 3:5) and the Genre of Zechariah's Fourth Vision," *JBL* 94 (1975): 343-55, who argues Isa. 6 and 40 really partake of a completely different *Gattung* (i.e., a "council scene"). Tidwell identifies three basic elements common to all council scenes: (1) a description of the scene; (2) the dialogue, often including a climactic intrusion or outburst by one of the participants; and (3) a word or deed of Yahweh "which determines the destiny of that person or group whose affairs have been under review." Tidwell finds confirmation of a different *Gattung* in the presence of the intrusive "I" in 1 Kgs. 22, Isa. 6 and 40, Job 1 and 2, and Zech. 1, 3 and 6. In short, the intrusive "I" is determinative for the council scene *Gattung*. However, besides not delineating any plausible *Sitz im Leben* for his so-called council scene *Gattung*, Tidwell's attempt to identify a wholly different genre on the basis of one element, i.e., the intrusive "I," appears to be rather suspect, especially since both Habel and Hubbard demonstrate a large degree of formal and structural agreement between Isa. 6, Jer. 1, Ezek. 1 and other "call narratives." Furthermore, both Isa. 6 and 40 have been regarded as call narratives rather than council scenes because of their function: as an introduction, the "call narratives" function to justify and legitimize the prophetic word which follows. And finally, Habel, contrary to the way in which Tidwell summarized his work, did not understand the prototype of a prophetic call *Gattung* to be 1 Kgs. 22.

⁵³ Jenni, "Jesajas," 328, warns against confusing the function of the *Gattung* and the theology reflected within the *Gattung*. In specific, Jenni contends that the form of Isaiah's call functions to legitimate and justify his prophetic word, while the theology of the form possesses tradition-historical connections with a Royal theology, especially Ps. 24. Jenni points to the presence of Sabaoth and כבוד (Isa. 6:3) as an indicator of Isaiah's indebtedness to a blessing theology. See further Norman W. Porteous, "Old Testament in History," *ASTI* 8 (1970/1971): 50-52; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 373-74. Could it be that the heavenly council is part of such a Royal theology? Habel, "Form and Significance," 310, understands the inclusion of the heavenly council (cf. 1 Kgs. 22) at Isa. 6 as "new material which tends to emphasize the significance of the confrontation and introductory word of preparation in the call narrative and to make the parallels with Ex 3 1-12 even more apparent." Clements, *God and Temple*, 80-81, connects Isaiah's collapsing of heaven and earth with a Royal theology: "Earlier attempts of commentators to interpret the vision as a special revelation to the prophet of the divine court in heaven are rendered unnecessary when we bear in mind the correspondence that was believed to exist between the earthly and the heavenly realms. Through the doors of the earthly building the way of access was open to the throne of Yahweh himself, who dwelt in the

כבוד appears in three passages which reflect the call *Gattung*--the calls reported in Isaiah 6, 40 and Ezekiel 1. In Isaiah 6:3, כבוד forms part of the divine confrontation between the prophet and the Lord.⁵⁴ When Isaiah looked and saw the Lord upon his throne, he heard the seraphim call, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory" (Isa. 6:3). Echoing the language of Psalms 24 and 29, Isaiah affirms that Yahweh not only is present within his temple, as he could readily see, but Yahweh is present everywhere.⁵⁵ In the call passage of Isaiah 40, כבוד performs a different function.⁵⁶ With hosts of heaven gathered round (vv. 1-2),⁵⁷ Yahweh confronts his prophet and enjoins him to "speak." The prophet obeys (vv. 3, 6). The rhetorical goal of the prophet's preaching is preparation for the coming of Yahweh's unmediated presence, his כבוד. "Prepare" and "make straight" alert the people for a mighty, universal theophany of כבוד which fills valleys and tumbles mountains.⁵⁸

כבוד ידוה in Ezekiel 1:28 forms part of the divine confrontation between the prophet Ezekiel and Yahweh.⁵⁹

splendour of heaven." Thus, it appears that the heavenly council was part of the theology upon which Isaiah built and should not be viewed as evidence for a completely different council scene *Gattung*. On the influence of the council scene in prophetic traditions, see F. M. Cross, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," *JNES* 12 (1953): 274-77; Klaus Baltzer, "Considerations Regarding the Office and Calling of the Prophet," *HTR* 61 (1968): 567-81; James F. Ross, "The Prophet as Yahweh's Messenger," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 98-107.

⁵⁴ Hubbard, *Matthean Redaction*, 53; cf. Habel, "Form and Significance," 310-11.

⁵⁵ Ivan Engnell, *The Call of Isaiah: An Exegetical and Comparative Study* (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 4; Uppsala/Leipzig: A.-B. Lundequistska/Otto Harrassowitz, 1949), 16; Kuntz, *Self-Revelation*, 159-60; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:249-50.

⁵⁶ Habel, "Form and Significance," 315.

⁵⁷ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 186-90.

⁵⁸ Melugin, *Formation*, 85; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:250.

⁵⁹ Habel, "Form and Significance," 313; Hubbard, *Matthean Redaction*, 57.

And above the firmament over their heads there was the likeness of a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was a likeness as it were of a human form. And upward from what had the appearance of his loins I saw as it were gleaming bronze, like the appearance of fire enclosed round about; and downward from what had the appearance of his lions I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and there was brightness round about him. Like the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud on the day of rain so was the appearance of the brightness round about. Such was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. And when I saw it I fell on my face, and I heard the voice of one speaking.

Unlike Isaiah 6, and any other passage in the Hebrew Bible, יְהוָה כְּבוֹד is described in detail and is equated with the divine, human form seated upon the throne.⁶⁰ This remarkable development in the Glory tradition will have profound impact upon later visionary descriptions of God.

To sum up: In the hands of the prophets the Glory tradition took an unexpected, but traditional, twist: Yahweh's כְּבוֹד, a sign of approval in a Royal theology, came to signify judgment. Because of Israel's and Judah's failure, the creative and nourishing presence of Yahweh became, through its absence, a "sign" of divine chastisement. Yahweh did not restrict his judgment to his chosen; it included foreign, pagan nations. The prophets ironically announce that what was once intended for blessing will ultimately involve cursing, for both Israel and the nations. When Yahweh arrives in a theophany of Glory, he will do so to judge. The prophetic traditions recover the holiness implications of Glory to signify that Yahweh's blessing was not unqualified. Drawing upon the older יְהוָה כְּבוֹד traditions, the prophets reject the near-binary way of understanding life that had infected Israel/Judah.

The prophetic use of Glory went beyond deconstructing the extremes of the Royalists.⁶¹ The prophets also coaxed out of Glory not only a message of pedagogical judgment but also a

⁶⁰ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:123-24; Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (2d ed; WUNT 2/4; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984). 206; Segal, *Paul*, 52.

⁶¹ Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 131-37.

kerygma of hope. The prophets re-invest the tradition with eschatology to proclaim a new word. Yahweh will one day manifest himself, his כבוד, and reconfigure the existence of (all his) people. The כבוד of judgment and suffering characterizing the "present time" is not to be compared to the כבוד of the future, which will one day lead to exodus, restoration, transformation and recreation.

Glory also played a significant role in the calls of the prophets. In their call narratives, both Isaiah and Ezekiel were confronted by the כבוד. In Isaiah 40:1-11, a passage which partakes of the same call structure as Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1, כבוד functions to define the prophetic task.

With the end of this chapter, the first part of this study draws to a close--a diachronic examination of the crystallization, growth, and re-investment of the Glory in the Hebrew Bible. In response to changing historical situations the Glory tradition (1) crystallized at the beginning of the Davidic monarchy, (2) grew to become a key Royal symbol during the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy and (3) was reappropriated by the prophetic tradents to address the crisis of exile. Based upon the previous two chapters, the polyvalent character of the Glory tradition can be organized into several fairly distinct construals: the theophanic, Sinaitic, Royal, and prophetic Glory construals. To draw a hard and fast (synchronic) line with the end of the Hebrew Bible is at best arbitrary and at worst, especially in the case of a diachronic study, a dangerous and misleading act. Still, a case can be made for drawing such canonical distinctions. By the time of Paul, the canonical shape of most, if not all, of the Hebrew Bible had been fixed.⁶² The closed, or nearly closed, canon of the Hebrew Bible itself forms a stage in the tradition-history of Glory. The next three chapters, however, ignore such "canonical" distinctions and plot the trajectories of the various Glory construals in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic era.

⁶² Roger Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985); cf. J. A. Sanders, "Text and Canon: Concepts and Method," *JBL* 98 (1979): 5-29.

PART TWO

FROM PROPHETS TO RABBIS

CHAPTER FIVE

"CALLS" TO "THRONES" TO "CHARIOTS": GLORY IN JEWISH APOCALYPSES

The study of (Early) Judaism in the Hellenistic era is undergoing revision. Replacing the older terminology and simplistic paradigms are new critical analyses which employ non-biased categories, which demonstrate a sympathetic appreciation for the literature *qua* literature, and which refuse reductionist descriptions of what was a very fluid social landscape. Aided by archaeological discoveries, new updated critical editions of texts and the application of new critical methodologies, scholars are painting quite a different picture of Early Judaism than was common just a few decades ago.¹ As welcome as it is, this

¹ Older polemical stereotypes of a legalistic *Spätjudentum* (Emil Schürer) and/or a more positive "normative" Judaism (George Foot Moore) are no longer valid. Even the rehabilitative work of E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), has received criticism for not capturing the true "essence" of Early Judaism. Though his "holistic" comparison certainly represents a methodological advance, Sanders' use of sources remains questionable: can the "essence" of Early Judaism be adequately assessed without taking account of the dynamic apocalyptic character of many of the writings? Can Early Judaism be reduced to an "essence" (i.e., some form of "covenantal nomism")? See the searching criticisms of James Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins* (SNTSMS 54; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1985), 47-58, and Jacob Neusner, "From Moore to Urbach and Sanders: Fifty Years of 'Judaism.' The End of the Line for a Depleted Category," *Religious Studies and Theology* 6 (1986): 7-26. Replacing the "normative" depictions--be they positive or negative--are attempts to do justice to the complex, interdependent, competing and sometimes conflicting nature of "Judaisms" during the period. But even here, the renewed historical-critical sensitivity forces a "non-sectarian approach." As Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 19, remarks, "seeing Early Judaism through four sectarian windows is myopic and unperceptive." The social map includes many other groups than the celebrated four mentioned by Josephus--though the all-important characteristic features and

renaissance in the study of Early Judaism poses any number of significant problems for a tradition-historical analysis such as this one--chiefly in the areas of chronology, social/literary criticism, and linguistics.²

distinguishing boundary lines are oftentimes elusive. "Judaism" cannot simply mean four or five different "schools" or synthetic "systems" of thought which neatly relate to "sects" (Gary G. Horton, "Diversity in Postbiblical Judaism," *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* [ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia/Atlanta: Fortress/Scholars, 1986], 57-80; Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* [LEC; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987], 124-73). Not even Qumran, a community which is generally thought to be related to the Essenes, can be treated as possessing a monolithic point of view; allowance must be made for pre-Qumran traditions and the development of these traditions over time (see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981], 122; Philip R. Davies, "Eschatology at Qumran," *JBL* 104 [1985]: 39-55; Niel S. Fujita, *A Crack in the Jar: What Ancient Jewish Documents Tell Us about the New Testament* [New York/Mahwah: Paulist, 1986], 32-38; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Judean Desert," *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* [ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia/Atlanta: Fortress/Scholars, 1986], 119-56, especially 143). Moreover, chiefly spurred on by the study of apocalypticism, the sociological function of literature has also received significant attention; see Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); idem, "Apocalypse, genre," *IDBSup*, 27-28; idem, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSup*, 28-34; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism," *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983), 641-54. Accordingly, the literature itself--no doubt the greatest source for the knowledge of Early Judaism(s)--does not merely preserve a stale, static conceptual/linguistic world, but betrays a *Tendenz* which helps map out the fluid, social landscape. Finally, since the work of Martin Hengel (*Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* [2 vols; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974]), hard and fast linguistic, philosophical, conceptual, and cultural distinctions between "Palestinian" and "Hellenistic" Judaism are questionable.

² The attempt to move through the literature in careful chronological order is essential to a tradition-historical study. Some of the Early Jewish documents are, however, un-datable, and the dates of many, if not most, are in dispute. Cf. Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970) and Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*. Thus, a high level of subjectivity is introduced into the tradition-historical task when a strictly chronological approach is used. While significant inroads have been made into generic studies, the literature refuses to submit to consistent and programmatic classifications. Questions persist concerning generic and macro-generic definitions of nearly all the different kinds of literature (see, e.g., E. P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish

Plotting the tradition-history of Glory is not a hopeless task, however--chiefly because Glory played a significant role in Jewish apocalypses. Klaus Koch lists Glory as one of the motifs which define apocalypses.

The catchword *glory* is used wherever the final state of affairs is set apart from the present and whenever a final amalgamation of the earthly and heavenly spheres is prophesied. Glory is the portion of those who have been raised from the dead, who will thus become as the angels or the stars of heaven (Dan. 12.3; I Enoch 50.1; 51.4). Glory is then the mark not only of man, however, but also of conditions, the "state" in which they live, the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21.ff.; II Bar. 32.4), or of the eschatological ruler (II Bar. 30.1) who is above them.³

According to Koch, Glory formed part of the field of signifiers used in early Jewish apocalypses.

In his analysis John J. Collins adopts a literary approach.⁴ He divides apocalypses into two categories--"Historical

Apocalypses," *Apocalypticism*, 447-60). Further, scholars are uncertain of the precise identification of the author(s), redactor(s), community(-ies), and life setting of much of the material. From the semantic perspective, a tradition-historical study runs aground on the sheer complexity of the linguistic phenomena. No less than four languages (i.e., some form of Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin) were in use during the period, and the literature from the period is preserved in several others (e.g., Syriac, Coptic, Slavonic, Ethiopic), with the "best" text of a document sometimes being a translation twice removed from the original. Simply stated, the linguistic task is colossal, if not impossible.

³ Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy* (SBT 2/22; London: SCM, 1972), 32 [emphasis his]. The attempt by Koch to define apocalypticism in terms of both literary and historical characteristics should be compared with the older works of H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to Revelation* (3d ed; New York: Association, 1963); and D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic 200 BC-100 AD* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964).

⁴ John J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1-20; idem, "The Jewish Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 21-59. Subsequently, Collins updated his work, critically interacting with the ongoing debate, in *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (FOTL 22; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 2-24. Collins, *Daniel*, 4, follows his earlier definition of apocalypse as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a

Apocalypses" (containing a review of history) and "Otherworldly Journeys." Within this last category, Collins isolates a "throne vision" which he defines as a seer's vision of God "seated on a throne surrounded by angels." Such throne visions commonly entail graphic descriptions of God, a description of the heavenly hosts who oftentimes are engaged in the worship of God and the highlighting of one, special angelic mediator who is either beside God or is seated upon a throne. Throne visions appear in 1 Enoch 14, 60, 71; Testament of Levi 2-3, 5; 2 Enoch 20-21; and Apocalypse of Abraham 17-18 (cf. Life of Adam and Eve 25).⁵

Though synchronically classifying throne visions according to their literary "form," "type," or "sub-genre," Collins is not ignorant of the diachronic connections which such throne visions might share with other prophetic and/or apocalyptic material. Collins writes:

The apocalyptic visions of the divine throne clearly draw on a prophetic tradition, illustrated in the story of Micaiah ben Imlah in 2 Kings 22 (sic) and in the visions of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1. The judgment scene in Daniel 7 includes a throne vision, although no ascent is implied.⁶

By linking the throne visions of early Jewish (otherworldly) apocalypses with what is, for the most part, older prophetic material (calls and visions), Collins calls attention to possible *gattungsgeschichtliche* and/or *traditionsgeschichtliche* ties.⁷ The

transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, spiritual world." Cf. Lars Hartman, "Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," *Apocalypticism*, 329-41; E. P. Sanders, "Genre," 447-59.

⁵ Collins, *Daniel*, 18. Additionally, Collins lists Dan. 7, the throne vision attributed to Moses (preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:28; 29:4-16), Rev. 4 and the reflections on Ezek. 1 in the Merkabah mysticism of Early Judaism.

⁶ Collins, *Daniel*, 18.

⁷ Guy Couturier, "La Vision du Conseil divin: étude d'une forme commune au prophétisme et à l'apocalyptique," *ScEs* 36 (1984): 5-43; Alan J. McNicol, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in Judaism: A Model for Tracing the Origin of an Apocalypse," *Journal of Religious Studies* 13 (1987): 66-94. Both Couturier and McNicol explain the form of Early Jewish apocalyptic throne visions as a literary development of prophetic call narrative tradition (i.e., 1 Kgs. 22; Isa. 6; Ezek. 1).

task at hand is twofold: (1) to discover the way(s) in which (if any) Glory figures in the fabric of the throne visions; and (2) to investigate the ways in which the prophetic calls and visions might have influenced the apocalyptic development of Glory.

A. GLORY IN THRONE VISIONS

1 Enoch 14 contains an important throne vision. Here Enoch, after being transported into the heavenly realm, views a "house within a house," with the latter being "greater than the former," excelling it "in glory and greatness." After a brief description of the house, Enoch reports:

And I observed and saw a lofty throne--its appearance as like crystal and its wheels like the shining sun; and (I heard?) the voice of the cherubim; and from beneath the throne were issuing streams of flaming fire. It was difficult to look at. And the Great Glory was sitting upon it--as for his gown, which was shining more brightly than the sun, it was whiter than any snow. None of the angels was able to come in and see the face of the Excellent and the Glorious One; and no one of the flesh can see him--the flaming fire was round about him, and a great fire stood before him (1 Enoch 14: 18b-21).

There appears to be some question about how to read verse 20. Departing from the Greek text which reads ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη ("the Great Glory"), Matthew Black argues, on the basis of 1 Enoch 104:1, for the originality of ἡ δόξα τοῦ μεγαλοῦ, "the glory of the Great One."⁸ Because within the book of Enoch a variety of substantive titles are used for God, Mary Dean-Otting thus refers to "the Great Glory" as "typical" of the Enochian corpus.⁹ As Black himself notes, the (older) group I Ethiopic

⁸ Matthew Black, in consultation with James C. VanderKam, with an appendix on the "Astronomical" Chapters (72-82) by Otto Neugebauer, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 149-50. A critical edition of the extant Greek mss. can be found in Matthew Black, ed., *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

⁹ Mary Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature* (Judentum und Umwelt 8; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984), 50-51. She observes, as Black does (*Enoch*, 104, 149-50) that several phrases are used interchangeably--1:2: "the Holy One and of heaven"; 1:4: "my Holy Great One" and "eternal God"; 9:3 and 10:1: "Most

manuscripts support the reading "Great Glory."¹⁰ Thus, following both Charles and Charlesworth, "the Great Glory" is read at 1 Enoch 14:20.¹¹ Further support for this reading can be found in another "throne vision." The vision sequence recorded in the Testament of Levi (T. Levi 3-5) preserves a near identical construction. The angelic mediator, explaining the vision, tells Levi that in "the uppermost heaven of all dwells the Great Glory (ἡ μεγάλη δόξα) in the Holy of Holies superior to all holiness" (T. Levi 3:4).¹²

Though the throne vision in the Testament of Levi does not describe God in detail, 1 Enoch 14 does. Alan Segal observes that the author of 1 Enoch 14 intended that this vision of the enthroned "Great Glory" be interpreted as a pure and unmediated manifestation of God himself.¹³ Remarkably then, the author describes the figure on the throne, the "Great Glory" (i.e., God himself), by means of a "veiled anthropomorphism."¹⁴ The

High"; 9:4: "Lord of Lords"; 12:3: "Great Lord"; 9:4 and 12:3: "King of Eternity"; 10:1: "Great Holy One"; 14:1: "the Great Holy One"; 14:2: "the Great One."

¹⁰ Black, *Enoch*, 149-50. Cf. Michael A. Knibb, in consultation with Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 1:53, 2:99, who, following an Eth II ms. (Rylands Ethiopic ms. 23) reads, "And he who is great in glory."

¹¹ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 81; idem, "The Book of Enoch," *APOT*, 2:197.

¹² Following the Greek text of Marinus de Jonge, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* (PVTG 1; Leiden: Brill, 1964), 13. See R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford/Darmstadt: University/Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1908), 33 nn. 40 and 41 for textual variants. Cf. Tob. 3:16: "The prayer of both was heard in the presence of the glory of the great God" (τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου); and Tob. 12:15: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One" (τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου [ΘΙ: κυρίου]); see further, Paul Deserlers, *Das Buch Tobit: Studien zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Theologie* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 43; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 91 n. 84, 97 n. 99, 150, 192-93; Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers*, 190; and idem, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980): 1372.

¹³ Segal, *Two Powers*, 192.

¹⁴ Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 85, 222, 257.

"Great Glory" wears a garment (v. 20); and no one--"no flesh," "no angel"--qualifies to enter the house "or to look at his face [!]." Why?--because "the face" of the "Great Glory" excelled in "splendor and glory."¹⁵ Rowland concludes that "there is no doubt that the author of 1 Enoch 14 sees a human figure on the throne, though the precise outlines of the figure are left unexpressed."¹⁶

The throne vision in 2 Enoch 20-22 projects a similar anthropomorphic description of God. Enoch, guided to the tenth heaven by the archangel Michael, was given audience with the Lord himself.

And on the 10th heaven. Aravoth, I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire [and] brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But even the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. ... Who can give an account of his beautiful appearance, never changing and indescribable, and his great glory? And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord (2 Enoch 22:1-4).

Here again "great glory" appears in the context of seeing an unmediated vision of God: though descriptive rather than titular, similar to 1 Enoch 14, "Great glory" does characterize the "face" of the Lord.

¹⁵ Following Black, *Enoch*, 150, who reads, "by reason of its splendour and glory." He notes that "Eth. has omitted the preposition $\delta\iota\alpha$ and read genitives, rendering '...no angel was able to look on the face of the honoured and glorious One.'" According to Black, "G has rightly retained the $\delta\iota\alpha$ phrase; is it (sic) a rendering of $l\ hdr\ yqryh$, 'by reasons of the majesty of his glory.'" Black finds confirmation of this reading in 4QEnGaints^a 9:2 (see J. T. Milik, ed., with the collaboration of Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976], 316) which is a close parallel to his reconstruction. Charles, *Enoch*, 82, originally read "Honoured and Glorious One" but later, "Enoch," *APOT*, 2: 197, changed to "by reason of the magnificence and glory," describing the Eth reading as "corrupt." Cf. Knibb, *Enoch*, 2: 99: "and at the appearance of the face of him who is honoured and praised no (creature of) flesh could look."

¹⁶ Rowland, *Open*, 222.

Besides "Great Glory," two other collocations employing Glory constitute part of the semantic field of "throne visions." The long series of throne visions contained in the Similitudes (or Parables) of Enoch employ two other titles.¹⁷ The phrase "Lord of Glory" appears in 1 Enoch 40:3. Here Enoch, having been transported into the heavenlies, reports that he heard the "voices of those four faces while they were saying praises before the Lord of Glory." The more expansive "Glory of the Lord of the Spirits" occurs twice--40:1: Enoch, while gazing into the palace of heaven, saw "a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand, ten million times ten million, an innumerable and uncountable (multitude) who stand before the glory of the Lord of the Spirits"; and 41:7: the Sun and the Moon "gaze directly into the glory of the Lord of the Spirits." The differences in these various titles should not be exaggerated, especially since "Lord of Spirits" and "Lord of Glory" and "glory of the Lord of the Spirits" are used in parallel (1 Enoch 40:1-5; 63:2). What should be stressed, rather, is that Glory is an essential component--almost a technical feature--of the linguistic field used in characterizing the deity in his heavens. The titular use of Glory signifies the (sometimes anthropomorphically described) presence of God.

Chapters 15-20 of the Testament of Abraham contain a curious use of Glory language. When the patriarch Abraham refuses to die, God orders the archangel Michael to summon "Death." Upon arrival before God, "Death" is commanded by God to exchange its horrid appearance for a beautiful form of Glory. God then commands "Death" to pay a visit to Abraham for the purpose of taking him.¹⁸ Abraham, expecting the angel Michael to come, is instead visited by "Death." Testament of Abraham 16 describes the meeting. "Death" came to Abraham in a "sweet

¹⁷ The Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71) contain several heavenly visions, ascensions, or translations and can be treated as one long "throne vision"; as Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 214, comments, the "book as a whole depicts a journey or a series of journeys."

¹⁸ See Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 209-15.

odor" and "radiance of light" and "in great glory" (16:8). So beautiful was "Death" that Abraham initially confused "Death" with one of God's angels, the Commander-in-chief. "Death" confirmed to Abraham that he was indeed the "bitter cup"; but Abraham objected: "No, rather you are the comeliness of the world, you are the glory and beauty of angels and of men, you are the best formed of all forms" (T. Abr. 16:8; see also 17:6, 12). This passage, though not a throne vision nor a "tour of hell" proper, is structurally related to the throne vision form.¹⁹ By portraying "Death" in the same way in which God is normally portrayed, i.e., with/in Glory, the readers' fears of death are addressed: "Death" is nothing more than the presence of God.²⁰

The signifying power of Glory extends far beyond the rather technical titular use; the word is plastic enough to refer to other aspects of the heavenly visions. For example, the Similitudes of Enoch speak of a "throne" or "seat" of Glory.²¹ 1 Enoch 47:3 reads: "I saw him--the Antecedent of Time, while he was sitting upon the throne of his glory, and the books of the living ones were open before him. And all his power in heaven above his escorts stood before him." Similarly, at 60:2, Enoch sees the "Antecedent of Time" sitting upon the "throne of glory surrounded by the angels and the righteous ones."²² Testament

¹⁹ "Death's" pursuit of Abraham in chapters 16-20 parallels Abraham's throne vision in chapters 1-15. See further, Alan F. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," 1334-42; Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1983), 61-63; David J. Halperin, "Ascension or Invasion: Implications of the Heavenly Journey in Ancient Judaism," *Religion* 18 (1988): 47-67.

²⁰ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 251.

²¹ Cf. 1 Enoch 9:4; 25:3; Jub. 31:20; T. Job 32:2-3; T. Abr. 13:4; Apoc. Abr. 25:3; Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 1/2; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1951), 53-100.

²² Two titles are used for God in Similitudes--the "Antecedent of Time" ("Head of Days") and "Lord of the Spirits," with the latter of the two titles being the more frequent. Curiously enough, as Rowland notes, *Open*, 105, within a throne vision only the "Antecedent of Time" is seen sitting upon the "throne of glory" (based upon the influence of Dan. 7?); never is it reported that the "Lord of Spirits" sits upon the "throne of glory." Rowland,

of Levi chapter five records that "the angel opened for me the gates of heaven and I saw the Holy Most High sitting on the throne of glory" (T. Levi 5:1). Two observations are in order: (1) to "sit" on a "throne" again characterizes the vision of God in anthropomorphic terms, and (2) depending on how one construes the genitive (possessive?/objective?), God's anthropomorphic figure is again defined as Glory.

Though Glory marks the throne as a divine possession, God is not the only one to occupy the heavenly chair. God shares this honor with his special, chosen angel. In the visions contained in the Similitudes of Enoch, the "Lord of the Spirits" is depicted as placing the "Elect One"/the "Son of Man"²³ on the "throne of glory."

This is the second parable concerning those who deny the name of the Lord of the Spirits and the congregation of the holy ones. Neither will they ascend into heaven, nor will they reach the ground; such will be the lot of sinners, who will deny the name of the Lord of the Spirits, those who in this manner will be preserved for the day of the burden and tribulation. On that day, my Elect One shall sit on the seat of glory and make a selection of their deeds, their resting places will be without number, their souls shall be firm within them when they see my Elect One, those who have appealed to my glorious name" (1 Enoch 45:1-3c);

When I would give consent so that they should be seized by the hands of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain, already I would have caused my punishment and my wrath to abide upon them--my punishment and my wrath, says the Lord of the Spirits. "Kings, potentates, dwellers upon the earth: You would have to see my Elect One, how he sits in the throne of glory and judges Azaz'el and all his company, and his army, in the name of the Lord of Spirits" (1 Enoch 55:3-4);

however, *Open*, 467 nn. 72 and 73, cautions about drawing too many conclusions based upon such a curious distinction. For a fuller discussion of the issue, see Matthew Black, "Two Unusual Nomina Dei in the Second Vision of Enoch," *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke* (2 vols; ed. W. C. Weinrich; Macon: Mercer, 1984), 1:53-60.

²³ On the oscillation between "Lord of the Spirits" and "Elect One," see Black, *Enoch*, 235.

He placed the Elect One on the throne of glory; and he shall judge all the works of the holy ones in heaven above, weighing in the balance their deeds (1 Enoch 61:8);

... able to recognize the Elect One! ... Lord of the Spirits has sat down on his throne of glory ... all the oppressors shall be eliminated ... On the day of judgment ... all Kings, the governors, the high officials, and the landlords shall see and recognize him--how he sits on the throne of his glory ... pain shall come. ... and pain shall seize them when they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory (1 Enoch 62:1-6);

Thenceforth nothing corruptible shall be found; for that Son of Man has appeared and has seated himself upon the throne of his glory; and all evil shall disappear from before his face. (1 Enoch 69:29).

Placing the "Elect One"/"Son of Man" upon the throne confers upon the special angelic figure a divine status, second only to God himself.²⁴ The enthroning of the special angelic being occurs for the exclusive purpose of eschatological judgment--again something traditionally reserved for God. The judgment of the "Elect One"/"Son of Man," who has been seated upon the "throne of glory," shall fall upon angels--both good and evil--and human oppressors of the righteous. Like God, the special angelic figure is envisioned as a human figure--a fact already implied in the title Son of Man.

But while the enthroning of the "Elect One"/"Son of Man" signifies the inauguration of final judgment, the linkage of this activity with a larger network of re-creative, transformational events should not be overlooked. "That day" when the "Elect One shall sit on the seat of glory" not only points to a time of despair, but also to "a day" when the "Lord of the Spirits ... shall transform heaven and make it a blessing of light forever." For those who have sinned, judgment; but for the righteous, mercy (45:1-6). The appearance and seating of the "Son of Man" upon the "throne of glory" will usher an outpouring of mercy and justice (61:10-13), an age in which "all evil shall

²⁴ Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 393-94; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 60-61.

disappear from before his face" (69:29). To speak only of the juridical consequences of enthronement is to miss half of the semiotic equation: final judgment--called to mind by the enthroning of the "Elect One"/"Son of Man"--is itself a signifier of a larger redemptive, re-creative process.

Glory also denotes the angelic beings which occupy heaven. For example, in the throne vision contained in Apocalypse of Abraham, the multitude of angels is described as "a host of invisible glory."

And while he was still speaking, behold, the expanses under me, the heavens, opened and I saw on the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire spread out and light and dew and multitude of angels and a host of the invisible glory, and up above the living creatures I had seen; I saw no one else there (Apoc. Abr. 19:4).

The description of angels as "glorious ones" is a common phenomenon in Early Jewish literature.²⁵

The throne vision of 2 Enoch 22:7 also refers to the angels as the Lord's "glorious ones"; but this vision report adds one other important event.

I saw the Lord. His face was strong and very glorious and terrible. Who (is) to give account of the dimensions of the being of the face of the Lord, strong and very terrible? or his many-eyed ones and many-voiced ones, and the supremely great throne of the Lord, not made by hands, or those who are in attendance all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, or how unvarying and indescribable and never-silent and glorious in his service. And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord, with his own mouth, called to me, "Behave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and stand in front of my face forever." And Michael, the Lord's greatest archangel, lifted me up and brought me in front of the face of the Lord. And the Lord sounded out his servants. The Lord said, "Let Enoch come up and stand in front of my face forever!" And the glorious ones did obeisance and said, "Let him come up!" And the Lord said to Michael, "Go, and

²⁵ Sir. 44:2, 19; 45:2; 1QH x 8; 4Q511 Fr. 2, Fr. 35; 3 Macc. 6:18; Add. Esth. 15:13; 2 Enoch 1a [J]; 19:1-3; 21:3; 22:7; Mart. Isa. 4:14; Bietenhard, *himmlische Welt*, 104-8; Eugeniusz Szewc, "'DOXAI' in den katholischen Briefen und die Qumranische Literatur," *Folia Orientalia* 21 (1980): 129-40.

extract Enoch from [his] earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of my glory." ... And I looked at myself, and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference (2 Enoch 22:1-10 [A]).

Enoch's face to face encounter with the Glory of God results in his transformation--Enoch himself is changed into the likeness of one of the "glorious ones." The "putting off"/"putting on" imagery symbolizes Enoch's (eschatological) transformation into Glory.²⁶

To summarize: In the throne visions of early Jewish apocalypses, Glory forms part of the characteristic field of signifiers used to describe the heavens. That is, when a seer peers into the heavens, he sees Glory--be it associated with God, a throne, or angels. The titular use of Glory signifies the (sometimes) anthropomorphically described presence of God, who is himself the apex of the heavenly hierarchy. The collocation "throne of glory" connotes a web of meanings: (1) "throne of glory" demarcates the relationship of the "Elect One"/"Son of Man" to God--i.e., this special, anthropomorphically described angel is subordinated and yet is able to share the same throne and functions as God; (2) "throne of glory" signifies the end-time judgment which is to be executed by the special angelic being; and (3) the juridical significance of "throne of glory" itself bespeaks the larger end-time re-creative activity of God. Even the angels, or a transformed human patriarch, can be clothed in Glory. In short, in the throne visions of early Jewish apocalypses, the polyvalent meanings of Glory find their home in the heavenlies.

Thus far in this chapter, synchronic methods have dominated the analysis: what role did Glory play in the literary-critically defined throne vision of early Jewish apocalypses? The task ahead requires a shift to a diachronic question. What is the

²⁶ A. J. M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection: Studies in Pauline Theology against Its Graeco-Roman Background* (WUNT 1/44; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1987), 187-88; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 55-56; Segal, *Paul*, 48-49.

tradition-historical background of Glory in early Jewish apocalypses and apocalyptic thought?

B. THE INFLUENCE OF EZEKIEL 1

As early as the writing of Sirach, Ezekiel's vision of the man-like *יהוה כבוד* had become a part of Jewish lore (Sir. 49:8). Only with this century did the formative power wielded by Ezekiel 1--and to a lesser extent, Isaiah 6²⁷--come to be appreciated. Scholars such as Otto Procksch, A. Feuillet, Walter Zimmerli, Horst Balz, Matthew Black, Seyoon Kim, Christopher Rowland, and Gilles Quispel have sought to chronicle the influence of Ezekiel 1. This line of research has successfully tethered some visionary texts of the Hebrew Bible (Ezek. 8, 10, 11; Dan. 7), of Early Judaism (1 Enoch 14, 46, 60, 61, 62, 71, 90; T. Levi 3-5; Apoc. Abr. 17-19; 4 Ezra 13; 4QSirShabb; Ezekiel's Exagoge), of Jewish-Christian reflection (Rev. 4-5), as well as both Gnostic and Rabbinic (Merkabah) thought to Ezekiel 1.²⁸ The discussion which follows seeks to unearth the

²⁷ David Flusser, "Sanktus und Gloria," *Abraham Unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. O. Betz, M. Hengel, P. Schmidt; AGSU 5; Leiden/Köln: Brill, 1963), 129-52; Bietenhard, *himmlische Welt*, 137-42; C. F. Whitley, "The Call and Mission of Isaiah," *JNES* 18 (1959): 38-48.

²⁸ Otto Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1950), 416-19, 424-31; A. Feuillet, "Le Fils de L'homme de Daniel et la Tradition biblique," *RB* 60 (1953): 170-202, 321-46; Horst Robert Balz, *Methodische Probleme der Neutestamentlichen Christologie* (WMANT 25; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1967); Matthew Black, "Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the 'Son of Man': A Study in Tradition-History," *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity. Essays in Honor of William David Davis* (ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly; SJLA 21; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 57-73; Christopher Rowland, "The Vision of God in Apocalyptic Literature," *JSJ* 10 (1979): 137-54; Gilles Quispel, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980): 1-13; Kim, *Origin*, 205-223, 239-67; Rowland, *Open Heaven*; Seyoon Kim, "The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God" (*WUNT* 1/18; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983); Jarl Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism," *VC* 37 (1983): 260-87; Pieter W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 (1983): 21-29; Helge S. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn: Das Verhältnis von Hen 14 und Dan 7:1," *St Th* 38 (1984): 101-33; Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the*

implications of Ezekiel 1's pervasive influence upon the tradition-historical development of Glory as an apocalyptic symbol.

Ezekiel 1:28 is the point of departure. In this passage כבוד unquestionably refers to God "in the likeness as it were of a human form" (Ezek. 1:26). This anthropomorphic vision of God inspired the description of the heavenly figure in Ezekiel 8:2. In Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 8, the heavenly figures both have the appearance of a man (Ezek 1:26b; 8:2a), both have a lower body of "fire" (Ezek. 1:27b; 8:2b) and a torso which is "like gleaming bronze" (Ezek. 1:27a; 8:2b). Zimmerli states that the "similarity of the description of the 1:27 and 8:2 appears compellingly to lead to the view that in 8:2 also Yahweh must be intended."²⁹

Some question, however, the identification of the man-like heavenly messenger of Ezekiel 8:2 with the Yahweh.³⁰ The juxtaposition of the "man" who "put forth the form of a hand" to grab Ezekiel and the "Spirit" (of God) which actually lifted Ezekiel up (Ezek. 8:3a) helps clarify the divine status of the "man": the "man" and the "Spirit" are intimately connected. In fact, the vacillation between "hand" (8:1), "Spirit" (8:3b) and "glory" forms a divine matrix which argues strongly for understanding "the appearance of the form of a man" as a manifestation of God.

What is not in doubt, however, is that the figure who appears in Ezekiel 8:2 is intimately linked with the glory of God which appeared

Origin of Gnosticism (WUNT 1/44; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985); Segal, *Paul*, 34-71.

²⁹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:236; Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 122; Black, "Throne Theophany," 58-59; Porteous, "Old Testament and History," *ASTI* 8 (1970/1971): 21-77 (especially 52); Childs, *Introduction*, 368; Kim, *Origin*, 209, 241-42; Rowland, *Open*, 95-97.

³⁰ J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* (NCBC; London: Nelson, 1969), 79; Keith W. Carley, *Ezekiel* (CNEBC; Cambridge: University Press, 1974), 52, who argues that the "man" cannot be identified as God because the prophet always uses Glory when speaking of Yahweh's appearing. However, Carley does see the "intrusive" figure as "an erroneous expansion borrowed from 1:27."

to the prophet by the banks of the river Chebar. What has happened here is not so much the splitting up of divine functions among various angelic figures but the separation of the form of God from the divine throne-chariot to act as a quasi-angelic mediator.³¹

In Ezekiel 8 the man-like appearance should be interpreted as God himself and equated with כבוד יהוה of Ezekiel 1:28.³²

The influence of Ezekiel 1 can be detected in Zechariah 2:5 and 8. Yahweh's promise of his כבוד within the unwalled, ideal Jerusalem (2:5) reflects the parabolic activity of כבוד יהוה in Ezekiel. Yahweh will again occupy his city in an unmediated fashion. The prophet's commissioning (Zech. 2:8) betrays direct influence of Ezekiel 1:28: like Ezekiel, the "prophet" is confronted by Yahweh's כבוד.³³

The throne vision of 1 Enoch 14 also displays the influence of Ezekiel 1 and Isaiah 6.³⁴ The wheel at 1 Enoch 14:18 compares favorably with the wheel in Ezekiel's vision, while the throne of 1 Enoch 14 is almost identical to the throne described in Isaiah 6. The visionary depiction of Yahweh in a man-like figure in Ezekiel 1:26-28 explains the anthropomorphic description of God (1 Enoch 14:20). The reference to God's garment comes from Isaiah 6, as do the references to cherubim in 1 Enoch 14:11, 18.³⁵ Significantly, entitling God as the "Great Glory" can be best explained by the influence of the dramatic vision

³¹ Rowland, *Open*, 96.

³² Black, "Throne Theophany," 59; van Dyke Parunak, "Literary Architecture," 61-74; Kim, *Origin*, 241-42; Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 177.

³³ Mitchell, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, 136-40; MacKay, "Zechariah," 197-210; Jeremias, *Nachtgesichte*, 174-76; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 170-72.

³⁴ Segal, *Two Powers*, 191; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981): 575-600; Rowland, *Open*, 255-57; Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 179-80, 276-77.

³⁵ Bietenhard, *himmlische Welt*, 54; Black, "Throne Theophany," 67; idem, *Enoch*, 149; Segal, *Two Powers*, 191-92; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 54; Rowland, "Vision," 140. But differences can be detected as well: there is no mention of a living creature nor any concern for the movement of the chariot. Instead, the heavenly abode of God is described and Enoch must travel into heaven to view God.

contained in Ezekiel 1.³⁶ In fact, the vision of כבוד יהוה in Ezekiel 1 may well be (ultimately) the tradition-historical source for (all?) the Glory titles in the other throne visions (T. Levi 3:4; 2 Enoch 22:4; 1 Enoch 40:1, 3; 41:7 and 63:2). These titles should be understood as a technical way of referring to the vision of the man-like figure of Yahweh upon his throne as depicted in Ezekiel 1.

Daniel 7 also betrays the influence of Ezekiel 1. The two passages share many similarities: thrones, beasts, winds, wheels, clouds. D. S. Russell has detailed the more specific overlaps:

In each case there appears a throne set on wheels and aflame with fire (Ezek. 1.4, 15f., 21, 26, and Dan. 7.9f) on which sits God himself in appearance like a man (Ezek. 1.26f) or one Ancient of Days (Dan. 7.9f); this chariot-throne is accompanied by a great cloud (Ezek. 1.4) and the Son of Man comes with the clouds of heaven (Dan. 7.13); in each case there appear four great beasts (Ezek. 1.5ff, and Dan. 7.3ff) which, though their appearance and functions are different, emphasize as in Ps. 8.4f. the distinction between man and the animal creation.³⁷

But if Daniel 7 was quarried out of Ezekiel 1, why were *two* heavenly figures hewn out of the same rock? In Ezekiel 1 there is but one heavenly man-like figure who is understood to be Yahweh, whereas in Daniel 7, two, separate heavenly figures are envisioned--one "Ancient of Days," who is understood to be

³⁶ Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 54-55, correctly notes that it is just one step from the ideas set forth in the LXX translation of Isa. 6 to the "Great Glory" of 1 Enoch 14. Moreover, she observes that the vision of Ezek. 1 was uppermost in the mind of the author of 1 Enoch 14. What Dean-Otting misses, however, is the importance of Ezek. 1 for the technical title "Great Glory." Following Kittel, *Herrlichkeit*, she explains the title "Great Glory" as the intrusion of Persian "light" phenomena. The simplest way to understand the title "Great Glory" is by the manifest influence of Ezek. 1. As Matthew Black, *Enoch*, 150, asserts, ἡ μεγάλη δόξα corresponds to δόξα κυρίου and כבוד יהוה; see also, Segal, *Two Powers*, 192.

³⁷ Russell, *Method and Message*, 341; R. B. Y. Scott, "Behold, He Cometh with Clouds," *NTS* 5 (1958/1959): 127-32; Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (WUNT 1/38; Tübingen: Mohr-Seibeck, 1986), 39 n. 14, 43, 71-73.

Yahweh, and a "Son of Man" who acts as some sort of vice-regent of God. How can the number and identity of the figures in Daniel 7 be explained by Ezekiel 1?

Matthew Black answers that both figures in Daniel 7 are to be interpreted as manifestations of Yahweh. Black roots his interpretation in the tradition-history of Ezekiel 1, 8 and 10. Though distanced from the "Ancient of Days," the appearance of "one like a son of man" (Aramaic כְּבֹרֶךְ אִנְשׁ) in Daniel 7 tradition-historically symbolizes the theophanic "numen praesens" of Yahweh as a "man" in Ezekiel 1 and 8.³⁸ The two figures of Daniel 7 are explained by the influence of the "man in linen" of Ezekiel 10:2, who provides an example of a separated, angelic, priest-like servant of God.³⁹ Daniel 7 consolidates the heavenly

³⁸ Black, "Throne Theophany," 60-63. Black begins by noting the apocalyptic features which Daniel holds in common with Ezekiel. Specifically, the phrase "one like the appearance of a man (sons of men)" in Dan. 8:15 and 10:16 "borrows directly from Ezekiel where the phrase is always used either of the *numen praesens et visibile* of a Jahweh theophany or of an angelic theophany." Here Black quotes Feuillet ("Fils," 187, 189): "The mysterious personage of the Son of Man in Daniel is a kind of visible manifestation of the Invisible Deity. ... the Son of Man belongs to the category of divine glory with the same title as the human appearance seen by Ezekiel (1.26)." Feuillet began with the question of the "Son of Man" in Dan. 7. Following the leads of Procksch and Eichrodt, Feuillet interpreted Dan. 7 in light of Ezek. 1. In fact, the vision of Ezekiel 1 is the "point de départ" for Dan. 7: the latter is tradition-historically linked (*rattacher*) with the former. But Feuillet also called attention to the importance of Isa. 6 (especially 6:3), as well as the whole theophanic/visionary tradition, for the interpretation of the "Son of Man" in Dan. 7. See further, Balz, *Methodisch*, 80-83; Kim, *Origin*, 240-41; Rowland, *Open*, 95-98.

³⁹ Ezek. 1 has also influenced the visionary scene reported in Ezek. 10:1-4 (Carley, *Ezekiel*, 61; Black, "Throne Theophany," 59). The "man dressed in linen" (v. 2)--introduced in 9:2--is doubtlessly an angelic being who acts as the agent of the Lord's judgment. But, as Rowland, *Open*, 96, writes: "Unlike the figure in chapter 8 the angelic scribe can in no sense be considered especially close to God, despite the permission granted to the angel to draw near to the Cherubim-chariot (Ezek. 10:2), for he is not the bearer of divine characteristics in the way that the figure in chapter 8 is." Further, this vision reports an empty throne (10:1) with כְּבֹרֶךְ יְהוָה being separate from it (Ezek. 10:5), which in no way could be confused with the "man dressed in linen." John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars, 1977), 95-104; idem, *Daniel*, 77-89, although suspecting a Canaanite mythological background for the idea of two figures in the heavens, must concede that there is not an "exact

(proto-messianic, priestly?) figures of Ezekiel into the כְּבֹד יְהוָה. The form of a man in Ezekiel 1:26, כְּבֹד יְהוָה in Ezekiel 1:28, the form of a man in Ezekiel 8:2 and the "man in linen" in Ezekiel 10:2 all intermingle to identify the Danielic "Son of Man" as the presence of Yahweh. "This, in effect, means that Dan. 7 knows of two divinities, the Head of Days and the Son of Man."⁴⁰ Viewed tradition-historically, Daniel 7 presents a (proto-) "messianic" interpretation of כְּבֹד יְהוָה in Ezekiel 1:28.

Maurice Casey objects to such a line of reasoning. Casey argues that no pious Jew (presumably the author of the book of Daniel) would ever speak of two divinities. Clear evidence would be required for such blasphemy to occur. Because "no purely divine terms are used of the man-like figure" and because the man-like figure "is clearly subordinate to the Ancient of Days," the "one like a son of man" can in no way be considered a "numen praesens et visible" of the Lord.⁴¹

Horst Balz, Alan Segal, and Jarl Fossum all point to the tendency of early Jewish writers to isolate an attribute of God, personify it, and finally to deify it.⁴² Though it may be more accurate to speak in terms of "divine agency" rather than outright "divinity,"⁴³ there can be no doubt the "one like a son of man" follows the pattern of angelic figures, personified attributes and exalted patriarchs. Moreover, as Larry Hurtado demonstrates,

prototype for Daniel 7." Further, Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 104, acknowledges that Ezekiel has (primarily?) influenced the formation of the passage in Dan. 7. Thus, the Danielic tradent(s) plausibly forged the two figures out of the Ezekiel tradition (so Kim, "Son of Man", 15).

⁴⁰ Black, "Throne Theophany," 61. Black goes on to note that Daniel interprets the vision of the "one like a son of man" to be the "saints of the most high" (7:18, 22, 27). This Black explains as Daniel's description of the "apotheosis of Israel" at the end time. Cf. Kim, *Origin*, 248, who argues that an ambiguity exists between the corporate (saints of the Most high) and individual (the one like a son of man) which cannot be fully resolved.

⁴¹ Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979), 32-33.

⁴² Balz, *Methodische*, 86-89; Segal, *Two Powers*, 112, 137 n. 6, 141, 190-92, 244-45; Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 7, 19, 67 n. 131, 87 n. 29; 177-91, 278.

⁴³ Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 51-70.

the real issue is worship: Jews were quite willing to clothe God's vice-regents with divinity; what Jews were unwilling to do, however, was to give worship to these special agents as God. The fact that "dominion, and glory and kingdom" were conferred upon "one like a son of man" does establish the exalted status of the figure. Within the book of Daniel, the Aramaic word for Glory (יָקָר), especially when collocated with kingdom, power, majesty and greatness, repeatedly functions to indicate the position of sovereign authority.⁴⁴ The "one like the son of man" in Daniel 7 exercises the sovereignty of the "Ancient of Days." כְּבֹד אֱלֹהִים quite plausibly could be a way of speaking of God's activity and therefore specifically refer to the "man-like" יְהוָה of Ezekiel 1:28; this interpretation finds precedent in Ezekiel 8 and 10.

In its dependence upon Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7 effects both a semiotic shift and semantic re-investment of Glory. While in Ezekiel 1 כְּבֹד refers to the visible presence of God, in Daniel 7 "one like a son of man" serves this end. The tradent(s) instead utilize Glory as a signifier of the exalted position of אֱלֹהִים. As a symbol of divine approval, Daniel 7 reinvests Glory in a paradigmatic field including such terms as dominion, power and kingdom.

The same sort of semantic shift can be detected in Similitudes of Enoch and Revelation 4-5--both of which are indebted to Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7.⁴⁵ The situation concerning the "Son of Man" in 1 Enoch 37-71 mirrors that of "one like a son of man" in Daniel.⁴⁶ Like the "one like a son of man" in Daniel, the "Son of Man" of 1 Enoch is identified with the manifestation of God's כְּבֹד in Ezekiel 1.⁴⁷ In 1 Enoch 37-71, Glory forms part of the

⁴⁴ Dan. 2:37; 4:30, 36; 5:18, 20; Ernestus Vogt, *Lexicon Linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti: Documentis Antiquis Illustratum* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971), 77.

⁴⁵ Bietenhard, *himmlische Welt*, 57.

⁴⁶ Black, "Throne Theophany," 67-69; John J. Collins, "The Heavenly Representative: The 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch," *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico: Scholars, 1980), 111-33.

⁴⁷ Quispel, "Ezekiel 1:26," 2.

"divine equipment" which the "Son of Man" possesses.⁴⁸ Just as in Daniel 7, Glory in John's apocalypse constitutes part of a semantic field used to indicate the exalted status of the special representative. The collocation of "glory, honor and power" in Revelation 4:11 is analogous to Daniel 7. The triad function to mark off the sovereign, exalted status of Jesus at his parousia.⁴⁹ In Revelation 5:12, "power, wealth, wisdom, might, honor, glory and blessing" clearly signify the Lamb's exalted, enthroned status.⁵⁰

The Sabbath Songs (SirSabb) of Qumran cave 4 supply yet another example of the influence of Ezekiel's vision of יְהוָה כְּבוֹד.⁵¹ Though no throne vision proper,⁵² the Sabbath Songs (especially 4Q405 20 ii 21-22 [=4Q Sl 40 24 2ff]) are "based squarely on the vision of Ezekiel (1 and 10)."⁵³ This passage,

⁴⁸ Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 372-74, 387-88, 409. The Son of Man sits on a "throne of glory"; God has glorified him, bestowing upon him the divine glory. He is a "man" who possesses "glory" in a special degree, a degree unknown in the Hebrew Bible. Glory designates the Son of Man as God's representative, who will appear "in glory" in order to judge. His appearance marks a shift in the ages, a cosmic event which inaugurates the beginning of a new aeon.

⁴⁹ Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 140; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (2 vols; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 1:133.

⁵⁰ Cf. Mounce, *Revelation*, 150, who understands the list to refer to qualities which the "Lamb" already possesses--i.e., Christ is "power," "wisdom," "glory."

⁵¹ Portions of the Sabbath Songs were first published by J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân--4Q Serek Sîrôt 'Olat Hassabbat," *VTSup* 7 (1959): 318-45; Strugnell provisionally abbreviated the fragments as 4Q Sl 39 and 4Q Sl 40. Subsequently, the full material has been published by his student, Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985); her siglum and line enumeration are followed here.

⁵² Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 320.

⁵³ Theodor H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures, with Introduction and Notes* (3d ed; Garden City: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976), 285. The specific points of indebtedness are too numerous to list. For partial lists, see Rowland, "Visions," 142-45; and Fujita, *Crack in the Jar*, 163-66. Segal, *Two Powers*, 193, points to the theophanies of Isaiah and Moses which have "been melded into a single tradition" in the Sabbath Songs; see further, idem, *Paul*, 40.

something of a precursor to the Merkabah speculation, begins with an extended description of the divine throne chariot.⁵⁴

Glory is frequently employed in the description of the throne chariot. In lines 3, 5 and 11, the chariot(s) are described as "chariot(s) of glory."⁵⁵ Line 4 reports that "throne of glory" is located upon the chariot(s), while line 9 narrates the acts of worship by the cherobim beneath the "throne of glory." Even the wheels are depicted as "hubs of glory" (line 10). The "godlike spirits" who continuously move along with the chariot(s) consist of a "fiery substance," "glorious" in color (line 11).⁵⁶ In line 7 God himself is entitled "the Glory" (הַכְבוֹד). Strugnell, Schiffman and Newsom all note the reading is completely unattested anywhere else in the Qumran material.⁵⁷ Given the indebtedness of 4QSirShabb to Ezekiel 1:28, the absolute use of הַכְבוֹד can (only) be explained on the basis of the man-like description of יְהוָה כְּבוֹד.

The Sabbath Songs possess profound implications for the development of Glory as an apocalyptic symbol. Like Daniel 7, 4Q405 conflates Ezekiel 1, 8 and 10. Also, like 1 Enoch 14, 4Q405 employs כְּבוֹד as a title for God, though there are no traces of the veiled anthropomorphism. Though mentioned, the "throne of glory" is left vacant. The angels are in some ways

⁵⁴ For a description of the fragment, along with a discussion of how it relates to the liturgical calendar (of mystical praxis?), see Newsom, *Songs*, 307-8; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Merkavah Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q Serekh Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat," *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann* (ed. J. Reinharz, D. Swetschinski, K. P. Bland; Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 5; Durham: Duke University Press, 1982), 15-47; Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine* (SBSLDS 22; Missoula: Scholars, 1975), 289-90; Segal, *Paul*, 40.

⁵⁵ Newsom, *Songs*, 308 (line 3), 309 (line 5) notes that a plurality of Merkabah may well be intended.

⁵⁶ Both Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 340, and Newsom, *Songs*, 315, note the influence of Ezek. 8:2 upon the description of the angels. In Ezek. 1, the fiery substance is identical with כְּבוֹד יְהוָה; however, in the Songs the angels bear the fieriness of the glory. This transformation occurs under the influence of Ezek. 8, "the man in linen."

⁵⁷ Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 338; Schiffman, "Merkabah," 35; Newsom, *Songs*, 312.

special bearers of divine Glory, though no particular angel is singled out. The text, though detailed, does not demonstrate a "slavish dependence on the scriptural exemplars."⁵⁸ Most important, however, is the fact that mystical worship of "the Glory" is legitimated in this text.

As was noted above, Schiffman and Segal hail 4QSirSabb as precursor to the esoteric, visionary praxis of the Merkabah mysticism of later Judaism. In doing so, they depend upon the theories of Gerhard Scholem.⁵⁹ Scholem conjectured that Merkabah mystic praxis could be traced back from the Hekhalot corpus (whose ideas he dated to the first and second centuries c.e.), through Rabbinic sources, to expressions of Jewish apocalypticism, and finally to Ezekiel 1 and 10. Ithamar Gruenwald has sought to confirm Scholem's reconstruction.⁶⁰ Gruenwald argues for a positive relationship between apocalyptic and Merkabah mysticism. David Halperin questions the viability of this line of reconstruction in his examination of the Merkabah mysticism in the Rabbinic sources.⁶¹ Through the application of a rigorous form-critical method, Halperin discovers that the Palestinian Rabbinic sources do not confirm the conjectures of Scholem. The Rabbinic traditions surrounding Ezekiel 1 and 10 were exoteric public discussions and not esoteric private practice. Halperin thus distinguishes between exegetical method and mystical experience. Though this debate must be left for others, what is not in doubt is that the man-like visions of כבוד יְהוָה in Ezekiel 1 and 10 continued to have profound impact and were, in

⁵⁸ Rowland, "Vision," 145.

⁵⁹ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3d ed; New York: Schocken, 1954); idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960).

⁶⁰ Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGJU 14; Leiden/Köln: Brill, 1980); Segal, *Paul*, 34-71, points to the apostle Paul as an example of a practicing first-century mystagogue.

⁶¹ David J. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* (AOS 62; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1980); H. E. Gaylord, "Speculations, Visions, or Sermons," *JSJ* 13 (1982): 187-94.

part, responsible for the development of the Rabbinic Shekinah speculation.⁶²

This chapter examined the way in which Glory functions in the literary-critically defined throne vision of early Jewish apocalypses. The analysis pointed to the wide range of signifying power which Glory possesses in throne visions. In a throne vision, Glory can designate God, be collocated with throne, or be used in reference to angels. As a title, Glory signifies the presence of God in a vision, while at the same time highlighting God's supreme position in the heavenly hierarchy. When collocated with throne, Glory connotes a web of significations. "Throne of glory" underscores the process of end-time judgment, conferment of divine agency upon a/the special angelic mediator and the process of end-time

⁶² Ira Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism: Studies in the History of Midrash* (Studia Judaica 11; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1982), 74-87; idem, "Visions of God in Merkabah Mysticism," *JSJ* 13 (1982): 124-46; Rowland, *Open*, 80, 274, 302. The precise tradition-historical and semantic relationships between כבוד in the Hebrew Bible, Yaqqar, Shekinta and Memra in the Targums and Shekinah in the Rabbinic material is extremely difficult to sort out. Though Yaqqar appears to be the translating term for כבוד in the Targums, some overlap occurs with Shekinta. Both can serve as circumlocutions for God, though not always used in lieu of the anthropomorphism of God in scripture. While used in the Talmudic and Midrashic traditions, כבוד was eclipsed by the larger notion of Shekinah. Shekinah possessed a wide range of personified meanings--God, light, spirit, word, glory--though there is some debate as to whether or not the word was ever used as a hypostasis for God. On the complex relationships see J. Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1912); G. F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology," *HTR* 15 (1922): 101-33; G. H. Box, "The Idea of Intermediation in Jewish Theology: A Note on Memra and Shekinah," *JQR* 23 (1932/1933): 103-119; G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930), 1:420, 430-37; R. D. Middelton, "Logos and Shekinah in the Fourth Gospel," *JQR* 29 (1938): 101-33; Israel Efors, "Holiness and Glory in the Bible," *JQR* 41 (1951): 363-77; Arnold M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekkinah in der frühen Rabbinischen Literatur* (Studia Judaica 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969); E. E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (2 vols; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), 1:37-65; Segal, *Two Powers*, 182-83; Robert Haywood, *Divine Name and Presence: The Memra* (Totowa: Allanheld, Osmun, 1981); Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenance of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSS 23; Sheffield: JSOT, 1982); Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 178-80.

transformation. Glory thus forms part of the characteristic field of signifiers used to denote and connote divine and semi-divine beings which populate the heavens. In short, when a seer peered into the heavens, he saw Glory--be it God, a throne, or an angel.

This chapter also explored the way in which Glory could have come to have such a diverse signifying power. The analysis singles out Ezekiel's inaugural vision of the man-like *כבוד יהוה* as the tradition-historical fountainhead for such semi-exegetical speculation. The vision *כבוד יהוה* in Ezekiel 1 influenced a wide range of literature beginning with the Hebrew Bible and extending well into the Rabbinic period. The use of Ezekiel 1 was anything but monolithic; the diversity reflected process of continuing mystical speculation rather than set exposition.⁶³ Of particular interest, though, is the way in which the man-like *כבוד יהוה* of Ezekiel 1 influenced the apocalyptic development of Glory. The description of *כבוד יהוה* in Ezekiel 1 explains (1) the description of angelic beings as Glory--angels are divine agents who act on behalf of God; (2) the titles for God employing Glory; and (3) even the phrase "throne of glory."

But the influence of Ezekiel 1 in the tradition-history of Glory does not end there. A semiotic and semantic transformation occurred when the "one like a son of man," the "Son of Man" (Elect One), became equated with *כבוד יהוה* of Ezekiel 1. The sometimes anthropomorphically described *כבוד יהוה* became the sometimes anthropomorphically described special angelic figure--reflecting a distinct (proto-) messianic tendency. The tradents then reinvested Glory with new signifying power. Glory was used to show the exalted, divine status of the special angelic figures.

To appreciate the significance of the use of Glory chronicled in this chapter, the discussion must be set in the larger context of Christian origins. As recent investigation into first-century Christology demonstrates,⁶⁴ the early Jewish tradents employed God's attributes, exalted patriarchs, and principal angels to speak

⁶³ Rowland, "Vision," 142-45.

⁶⁴ Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*.

of "divine agency." These expressions of "divine agency," which did not initially compromise Jewish monotheism, were subsequently appropriated by early Christians to emphasize the divine status of Jesus. This chapter shows that Glory formed part of the semantic field used to speak of God, of his principal angel, and even of exalted patriarchs. In short, the ramified use of Glory in throne visions and the tradition dependent upon Ezekiel 1 tradition formed the semantic and semiotic building blocks for Paul's identification of Christ as $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$.

CHAPTER SIX

OTHER APOCALYPTIC DEVELOPMENTS OF GLORY

The last chapter traced the development of one construal of the Glory tradition: as a polyvalent symbol, largely stemming from the influence of Ezekiel 1:28, Glory signifies divinity and divine agency in throne visions of Early Jewish apocalypses. The trajectory depending upon Ezekiel's vision of כבוד יהוה in a human form is but one of many construals; the Jewish writings of the Hellenistic era evince several other. This chapter sketches a more complete picture of the development of the variegated Glory tradition.

A. THE THEOPHANIC GLORY CONSTRUAL

Theophany and the language of theophany continued to play an important role in early Jewish speculation,¹ and the mingling of the Glory tradition with theophany continued as well. A passage from the Qumran *Hodayot* betrays the distinct influence of the old theophanic pattern of arrival-response (1QH iii 32-36).

And the torrents of Belial shall burst forth unto Abaddon and the depths of the abyss shall roar in the tumult of the eruptions of mire. And the earth shall groan because of the destruction wrought in the universe. All its deep places shall howl and all that are upon it will act like mad men. And they did melt away amid u[tte]r destruction, for God thundereth with the tumult of his strength and His holy abode shall vibrate with his awe-inspiring Glory. And the host of heaven shall utter its voice [and] the foundations of the world [did] melt and quake and the battle of the mighty ones shall be waged abroad in the universe.

¹ Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God*, 39-62.

And it shall not turn back, until the extermination is wholly determined and there shall be nothing like it.²

The psalm (iii 19-36) relates how deliverance from suffering can be attained through membership in the community.³ The psalmist gives an account of his own personal suffering. Beginning with line 32, the psalmist casts his own plight in terms of cosmic struggle, a struggle in which the "torrents of Belial," the symbol of evil, terrorize the earth.

The reign of evil is so pervasive that the earth groans and cries under its heel. Nothing seems to escape. Line 34b, however, offers a word of hope. Here the psalmist chronicles the "coming" of God's thunderous כבוד. The presence of God causes the foundations of the earth to "quake" and "melt." The theophanic intervention of God signals a great cosmic battle in which the forces of evil are toppled.

Clearly, the theophanic tradition exerted a powerful influence upon this passage. The transparent arrival-response pattern resonates with the imagery of 1 Samuel 7:10, 2 Samuel 22:14 (= Psa. 18:14), Job 37:4 and 40:9.⁴ Psalm 29 should be singled out as the symbolic quarry for the arrival of God's "dreadful" כבוד.⁵ Psalm 29 describes the thunderous, powerful כבוד of God which breaks the cedars of Lebanon and causes the

² Trans. Menahem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 120-21.

³ Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 179-81.

⁴ Gaster, *Scriptures*, 241 n. 23; Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms From Qumran* (Acta Theologica Danica 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 65, 74-75; M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran: Texte Hébreu-Introduction-Traduction-Commentaire* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 134; Knibb, *Qumran*, 188.

⁵ The text reads "through the truth of His glory," but, as Mansoor, *Hymns*, 121 n. 6, observes, the Hebrew word "truth" is probably a scribal error for a similar word meaning "dread." Here Mansoor follows both Dupont-Sommer, Sukenik and Gaster (in the first edition of his book). Besides the theophanic context, which seems decisive for reading אמת (dread) for אמת (truth), Delcor, *Hymnes*, 130, notes the phrase "La vérité de sa gloire" is "inconnue de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament." Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 65; Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3d ed; London: Penguin, 1987), 174; Knibb, *Qumran*, 179.

wilderness to shake. Moreover, Psalm 29 proclaims God's victory over the waters. This parallels the Qumran psalm in which God thunders through his dreadful Glory, causing the earth to shake and defeating the floods of Belial.

B. THE SINAITIC GLORY CONSTRUAL

The revelation of כבוד יהוה as recorded in the Pentateuch exerts an influence upon several passages. In some cases, the influence is rather general. For example, in celebrating the presence of God, Dibre Hamme'orot (4QDibHam = 4Q504) conflates the wilderness signs of God's presence, "fire" and "cloud," with the tabernacle sign, כבוד: "Thou art in our midst in the pillar of fire and the cloud [of] Thy [holi]ness walking before us, and as it were Thy glory in our mid[st]" (4QDibHam fr. 6 ii). Sometimes, however, the tradition-historical linkages are more precise--even pointing to dependence upon a specific text.

The book of Jubilees rehearses in scriptural order the events recorded in Genesis 1 to Exodus 19.⁶ Before beginning, though, the author supplies a setting for his own work by securing it in the Sinai experience of Moses. A comparison of Jubilees 1:2-4c with Exodus 24:15-25:2 will demonstrate the lines of dependence.

And Moses went up to
the mountain of the Lord.

And the glory of the Lord
dwelt upon Mount Sinai, and a
cloud overshadowed it for six days.
And he called to Moses on the
seventh day from the midst of the
cloud. And the appearance of
the glory of the Lord was like
fire burning on the top of the
mountain.

Then Moses went up on
the mountain, and the cloud
covered the mountain.
The glory of the Lord
settled on Mount Sinai, and the
cloud covered it six days; and
on the seventh day he called to
Moses out of the midst of the
cloud. Now the appearance of
the glory of the Lord was like
a devouring fire on top of the
mountain in the sight of the
people of Israel. And Moses

⁶ James C. VanderKam, "The Book of Jubilees," *Outside the Old Testament* (ed. M. de Jonge; CCWJCW 4; Cambridge: University Press, 1985), 113.

And Moses was on the mountain
forty days and forty nights.
And the Lord revealed to him both
what (was) in the beginning and
what will occur (in the future),...
(cf. Jud. 1:27, 29; 2:1).

entered the cloud, and went up
on the mountain. And
Moses was on the mountain
forty days and forty nights.
And the Lord said to Moses,
Speak to the people of Israel
(cf. Exod. 24:12).

Not only are the two passages obviously parallel, but Glory functions in the same way in both texts. Just as the presence of God legitimized the word of Moses (Exod. 24), so too the "glory of the Lord" will now legitimate the new (eschatological) revelation (Jub. 1). By mooring the work in the paradigmatic Sinaitic revelation of God's כבוד to Moses, the author of Jubilees thereby justifies his writing.⁷

2 Maccabees 2:1-8 also indicates that the arrival of the new (eschatological) age of mercy will be inaugurated when God discloses (ἀναδείξει) the whereabouts of the (hidden) ark, tent and altar.⁸ This disclosure will be confirmed by the appearance (ὀφθήσεται) of "the glory of the Lord and the cloud" (ἡ δόξα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἡ νεφέλη).⁹ In Moses (to whom the Glory appeared on Mount Sinai) and Solomon (who asked that the temple should be consecrated), the author found venerable precedence for the anticipated appearance of Glory. Passages

⁷ Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (SPB 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 11 n. 7: "The author has followed the same method for establishing the origin of his material that he used in showing the origin of specific laws. He has rooted it in a specific moment of Israelite history reflected in the Pentateuchal narrative. That i, 2-4a was the original introduction is supported by the similarity of method and by the similarity of concern for teaching the Torah." The Rabbis also employed Exod. 24 as a paradigm for their authority; see Ira Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism: Studies in the History of Midrash* (Studia Judaica 11; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1982), 2-4, 13.

⁸ On the eschatological nature of 2 Macc. 2:1-8, see Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (CBQMS 12; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 9.

⁹ 2 Macc. 2:8: "And then the Lord will disclose these things, and the glory of the Lord and the cloud will appear, as they were shown in the case of Moses, and as Solomon asked that the place should be specially consecrated."

such as Exodus 40, Leviticus 9:23, 1 Kings 8:11, 2 Chronicles 5:14 and Isaiah 40:5 are all thought to have influenced the writer at this point;¹⁰ but, in all probability, the "glory" and the "cloud" betray the author's indebtedness to the Sinaitic tradition at Exodus 24.

Also in an eschatological context, a liturgical prayer from Qumran cave 1 (1Q34) alludes to the paradigmatic theophany of כבוד upon Mount Sinai.¹¹

Howbeit, in the time of Thy good pleasure, Thou wilt (again) choose unto Thyself a people, for Thou hast remembered Thy covenant; and Thou wilt make them to be set apart unto Thee as an holy thing distinct from all peoples; and Thou wilt renew Thy Covenant unto them with a show of glory and with words of Thy holy [spirit,] with works of Thy hand and with a script of Thy right hand, revealing unto them both the basic roots of glory and the heights of eternity; [] ; and Thou wilt appoint] for them a faithful shepherd, ... (1Q34 ii).¹²

"Covenant" and "writing of thy Right Hand" presuppose the giving of the law to Moses at Sinai; the "vision of glory" (במראה) elaborates Exodus 24:16a.¹³ Notably then, the new "covenant" will be legitimized by the very same signs which confirmed the old. The eschatological new covenant is founded upon mystic revelation ("visions of glory") and content revelation ("words of Thy Holy Spirit"). The purpose of this

¹⁰ Solomon Zeitlin, *The Second Book of Maccabees with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), 112; John R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* (CNEBC; Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 229; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981), 184.

¹¹ Otto Betz, "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and the New Testament," *RevQ* 6 (1967): 89-107 (especially 92-93).

¹² Trans. Gaster, *Scriptures*, 438. Cf. Vermes, *Scrolls*, 231, whose translation awkwardly "de-eschatologizes" the referents. According to Vermes' translation, the renewal of the covenant occurred at Sinai. Thus, presumably, the first covenant referred to in 1Q34 ii concerns the covenant God made with Abraham. It is more likely, however, that the author projected the Sinai covenant into the future to speak of a new, eternal covenant.

¹³ Gaster, *Scriptures*, 469 n. 8.

"new covenant" is to make known the "rudiments of glory" (i.e., God's law or will) and the "heights of heaven."

יִסּוּרֵי כְבוֹד is problematic and probably literally means "fundaments" or "rudiments" of Glory.¹⁴ This phrase thus could be a reference to the will of God as revealed in the law. This is supported by the word's being used as a reference to the law elsewhere (see 1QS iii 1; CD vii 5-8). If this interpretation is correct, then the contrast is between presence of God in law, "rudiments of glory," and presence of God (and angels) in heaven, "heights of eternity." The word can also denote the angelic beings and thus might be a reference to God as the chief of these beings (i.e., the "primary" or "greatest" Glory). The contrast would then be between God and the angels. In either case, the passage betrays the same sort of developments of Glory discovered in throne visions of early Jewish apocalypses.

Another passage which builds upon the Sinaitic כְבוֹד construal can be found in Sirach. Speaking about the exalted status of Moses, Sirach writes:

From his descendants the Lord brought forth a man of mercy, who found favor in the sight of all flesh and was beloved by God and man, Moses, whose memory is blessed. He made him equal in glory to the holy ones, and made him great in the fears of his enemies. By his words he caused signs to cease; the Lord glorified him in the presence of kings. He gave him commands for his people, and showed him part of his glory. He sanctified him through faithfulness and meekness; he chose him out of all mankind. He made him hear his voice, and led him into the thick darkness, and gave him the law of life and knowledge, to teach Jacob the covenant, and Israel his judgments (Sir. 45:1-5).

Chapter 45 recounts the great figures of the faith.¹⁵ In nine sets of couplets, Sirach rehearses the life of Moses--his confrontation

¹⁴ D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert. Qumran Cave I*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 1:154: "les règles de gloire"; Gaster, *Scriptures*, 469 n. 9.

¹⁵ R. A. F. MacKenzie, *Sirach* (OTM 19; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1983), 171.

with Pharaoh, his meeting face to face with the Yahweh, and his mediation of the law and the covenant.

Sirach's biographical sketch depicts Moses as a transitional figure who stands between the "fathers" (44:1-23) and those who hold an office, the "priests," "judges," "prophets" and "kings" (chs. 46-50).¹⁶ Like the "fathers" before him, Moses was chosen by God and he was faithful in his service to God. Moreover, like the "famous men," "the fathers in their generations," Moses experienced a vision of God firsthand (44:1-2). God "showed him part of his glory" (δόξα)--a reference to Exodus 33:17-23. Moses was like the "fathers" (and the prophets who were to follow) in that he saw Glory.¹⁷ Most importantly, Moses underwent a process of glorification: God made Moses equal (ὡμοίωσεν) to the holy ones (either angels or exalted saints) in Glory (δόξη).

But, according to Sirach, Moses is also like a "teacher." Moses heard the "voice of God"; "he was given the law of life and knowledge" in order to "teach Jacob the covenant"; he received the "commandments" and was invested with "authority over statutes and judgments" (45:5, 17). On the basis of revelation, Moses then dispensed knowledge about God--a function which, for Sirach, became institutionalized in the priesthood.¹⁸ Through the person of Moses, Sirach links the "fathers" (through the catchword Glory) to the "priests" (through the catchword knowledge).¹⁹

Sirach 17 also connects "wisdom"/"knowledge" with a Sinaitic כבוד tradition. In discussing Adam and Eve, Sirach writes that God

¹⁶ Burton L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University Press, 1985), 11-36.

¹⁷ John G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* (CBC; Cambridge: University Press, 1974), 221; Thomas R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 5.

¹⁸ Mack, *Wisdom*, 30-33, 212.

¹⁹ Wayne A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of E. R. Goodenough* (ed. J. Neusner; Studies in the History of Religions 14; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 354-71.

bestowed knowledge upon them, and allotted to them the law of life. He established with them an eternal covenant, and showed them his judgments. Their eyes saw his glorious majesty and heard the glory of his voice. And he said to them, "Beware of all unrighteousness." And he gave commandment to each of them concerning his neighbor (Sir. 17:11-14).

The bestowal of knowledge, the allotting of the law of life, the establishment of the eternal covenant, the revelation of judgments and the giving of commandments all coincided with the revelation of Glory, the time when Adam and Eve "saw the majesty of his glory" (μεγαλεῖον δόξης) and when they heard the "the Glory of the voice" (δόξαν φωνῆς). Sirach retrojects and conflates images of wisdom and Sinai back upon the figures of Adam and Eve,²⁰ thereby according the Sinaitic revelation of God--in both Glory and knowledge--a paradigmatic function. Adam and Eve, like Moses, are legitimized as ideal "types."

The phrase "voice of glory" in Sirach 17:13 is very similar to a construction in the *Milhamah* (War Scroll) of Qumran cave 1.²¹

O God of Israel, who is like Thee
 in heaven or on earth?
 Who accomplishes deeds and mighty works like Thine?
 Who is like Thy people Israel
 which Thou hast chosen for Thyself
 from all the peoples of the lands;
 the people of the saints of the Covenant,
 instructed in the laws
 and learned in wisdom ...
 who have heard the voice of Majesty (קול נכבד)
 and have seen the Angels of Holiness,
 whose ear has been unstopped,
 and who have heard profound things (1QM x 8b-11)?

In preparation for war, the hymn celebrates God's election of Israel ("the saints of the Covenant") by his mighty deeds. The

²⁰ Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 88; MacKenzie, *Sirach*, 79; and Mack, *Wisdom*, 115.

²¹ On "voice" more generally, consult James H. Charlesworth, "The Jewish Roots of Christology: The Discovery of the Hypostatic Voice," *SJT* 39 (1986): 19-41.

"hearing" and "seeing" in the context of "covenant" point again to dependence upon a Sinaitic tradition.²² In contrast to the "Angels of Holiness," כבוד is not seen at all, but only heard. This leads to the conclusion, especially in light of the parallels--"instructed in laws" and "learned in wisdom"--that "hearing the voice of glory" refers to the commandments, the Law, given on Sinai.²³

In sum, though anything but monolithic, the Sinaitic revelation of כבוד יהוה continued to have a profound influence upon early Jewish tradents. Commonly associated with symbols uniquely peculiar to the Sinaitic revelation (e.g., "covenant," "hearing," "seeing") the Sinaitic Glory construal forms an identifiable theological tradition functioning to legitimize mediators who reveal eschatological knowledge.²⁴

C. THE ROYAL GLORY CONSTRUAL

The early Jewish tradents continued to employ the key symbols of a Royal theology. The tradents emphasized the place where God reveals himself by referring to the temple as a place of Glory.

Blessed art thou in the temple of thy holy glory and to be extolled and highly gloried forever (Pr. Azar. 31);

... and so was Jeshua the son of Jozaka; in their days they built the house and raised a temple holy to the Lord, prepared for everlasting glory (Sir. 49:12);

You, king, when you created the boundless and measureless earth, chose this city and sanctified this Temple for your name, though you

²² Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of The Sons of Light Against The Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: University Press, 1962), 306; J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: Traduit et Annoté avec une Introduction* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 137.

²³ Betz, "Eschatological," 93.

²⁴ Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 189-90, 223-35; Leo Schaya, "The Sinaitic Theophany According to the Jewish Tradition," *Studies in Comparative Religion* 16 (1986): 214-33; idem, "The Sinaitic Theophany According to the Jewish Tradition, Part 2," *Studies in Comparative Religion* 17 (1987): 45-58.

lack nothing at all, and you glorified it by a splendid manifestation and established it to the glory of your great and honorable name. ... In our calamity this arrogant and corrupt man sets out to violate the holy place which is dedicated on earth to the name of your glory. Your dwelling place, the heaven of heaven, is beyond the reach of men. But since you sanctified this holy place because you took pleasure in your glory among your people Israel, do not punish us by the uncleanness of these men, nor censure us by their corruption, lest the lawless ones boast in their wrath or exult in the insolence of their tongue, saying ... (3 Macc. 2:9, 14-17).

Dedicated to and prepared for God's glory, the temple, when properly cleansed, is the place where God chooses to reveal his Glory. Through Glory, God had so closely identified with the temple that the destruction of the latter called into question the authority of the former.²⁵

Glory not only graced the temple for worship, but also symbolically indicated God's solidarity with the city of Jerusalem/Zion. The fortunes of one were inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the other.

Because the sons of Jerusalem defiled the sanctuary of the Lord, they were profaning the offerings of God with lawless acts; Because of these things he said, "Remove them far from me; they are not sweet-smelling." The beauty of his glory was despised before God; it was completely disgraced. ... For the gentiles insulted Jerusalem, trampling (her) down; he dragged her beauty down from the throne of glory (Pss. Sol. 2:3-5, 19).

²⁵ In a prayer preserved in addition "C" 12-20 (=Greek "A" [Lucianic rescension] 5:18-29 = Vulg./RSV 14:1-19), Queen Esther laments the infidelity of those who had "quenched the altar and the glory of thy house." Both J. A. F. Gregg, "Additions to Esther," *APOT*, 1:677, and Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 44; Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 211, understand the "altar" and "house" to be a reference to the destruction of the first temple. This event was so telling that it called into question the kingship of God. Thus, Esther prayed (14:11-12), "O Lord, do not surrender thy scepter to what has no being. ... Remember, O Lord; make thy self known in this time of affliction, and give me courage, O King of gods and Master of all dominion!"

The defiling and despising of the sanctuary (the "beauty of his [God's] glory")²⁶ and the sacking of the city by the gentiles, pulled Jerusalem down from her "throne of glory" (θρόνον δόξης)--no doubt a reference to the destruction of the first temple.²⁷ Sitting upon the "throne of glory"--something normally reserved for God (or his special agent)--not only personifies Jerusalem but draws the city into the aura of God. The psalmist amplifies this personification by depicting Jerusalem as wearing the "clothes of glory" and a "robe of holiness."

Jerusalem, put on the clothes of your glory (ἐνδυσαι ἱερουσαλήμ τὰ ἱμάτια δόξης σου), prepare the robe of your holiness, for God has spoken well of Israel forevermore. May the Lord do what he has spoken about Israel and Jerusalem; may the Lord lift up Israel in the name of his glory (Pss. Sol. 11:6-8).

Even though the gentiles turned the beauty of God's Glory into ashes and emptied his city, hope still kindled the belief that one

²⁶ In Pss. Sol. 2:5 τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ is somewhat problematic. R. B. Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," *OTP*, 2:652 n., offers three alternatives: the "beauty of his glory" could refer to (1) the temple; (2) a theophany, as in Ezek. 1; or (3) based upon a conjectural reading of Isa. 6:1, wall hangings within the temple. Of the three alternatives, the third, by depending on a conjectural reading, is most certainly the weakest. Though (2) is possible, understanding "beauty of his glory" to be a reference to the temple is the most natural since the "sanctuary" was mentioned in v. 3. Moreover, the parallelism of the verbs--sanctuary was defiled; the temple (i.e., "beauty of his glory") was despised--argues for this interpretation. See Herbert E. Ryle and Montague R. James, *Psalmi Solomontos: Psalms of the Pharisees. Commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), 11-12. The Temple is (the beauty of) God's glory.

²⁷ The referent of "throne of glory" is also ambiguous. Wright, "Psalms," *OTP*, 2:653 n., once more, offers several possibilities: the references of "throne of glory" could be (1) the temple; (2) the holy of holies; (3) God's throne in the heavenlies; (4) the heavenly powers; (5) Jerusalem; (6) the honorific place the holy city occupied. Again the context is decisive; in light of the previous phrase, "gentiles insulted Jerusalem, trampling her down," κάλλος αὐτῆς probably refers to Jerusalem--i.e., Jerusalem was dragged down from the "throne of glory." Ryle and James, *Psalmi*, 18, incorrectly invert the two phrases of v. 19 (an inversion which causes significant problems in discerning the antecedent of αὐτῆς). The inversion is corrected by J. B. Gray, "The Psalms of Solomon," *APOT*, 2:633.

day the temple and the city would undergo a dramatic transformation and once again be draped in the attire of God. Like Enoch in 2 Enoch 22 and Moses in Sirach 24, Jerusalem, a personified metaphor for the people of God, is to undergo dramatic eschatological conversion into Glory.

Further elaboration of a Royal Glory construal can be detected in the various ways in which "king" and "glory" are collocated--e.g., "King of Glory," "Great King in glory," or "King of the glory of the World."²⁸ As in a Royal theology, the presence of God's glory signifies God's rule. God rules through his choice servant, the human king, who shares the divine glory.

For Thou art [terrible], O God, in the glory of Thy kingdom, and the congregation of Thy Holy Ones is among us for everlasting succour. We will despise kings, we will mock and scorn the mighty; for our Lord is holy and the King of Glory is with us together with the Holy Ones. ... Rise up, O Hero!, Lead off Thy captives, O Glorious One. ... Fill Thy land with glory and Thine inheritance with blessing! ... O Zion rejoice greatly! O Jerusalem, show thyself amidst jubilation (1QM xii 6-11 = xix 1-7).

Constructed with symbols of a Royal theology,²⁹ the passage speaks of a kingdom "in glory" (מלכותה בכבוד) whose King (God) is "the king of glory" (ומלך הכבוד). The special instrument of God, the Hero fills the land with כבוד and is a "man of glory" (איש כבוד). The King, the kingdom, and the kingly representative are all imprinted with the mark of God's כבוד.

²⁸ 1 Enoch 81:3: "At that very moment, I blessed the Great Lord, the King of the Glory for ever"; 1QM xii 7: "for our Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us together with the Holy Ones"; 1QM xix 1: "For our Sovereign is holy and the King of Glory is with us"; 4Q510: "... praises. Ben[edictions for the K]ing of glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of ... to the God of knowledge, the Splendor of power, the God of gods, Lord of all the holy"; 1 Enoch 91:13: "A house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore" (cf. 4QEnGiants^a 1 iv 13 [Milik, *Enoch*, 267]: "and there shall be built the royal Temple of the Great One in His glorious splendour").

²⁹ Yadin, *War of the Sons of Light*, 316.

God, through his glory, not only aligns himself with the institutions, cities, and people, but the identification extends all the way to creation itself. In a long poem Sirach celebrates the presence of God in the cosmos (Sir. 42:15-43:33). According to Sirach, creation is the "work of the Lord" and "is full of his glory" (Sir. 42:16). The whole universe "stands firm in his glory" (Sir. 42:17), with heaven being a "spectacle of glory" (Sir. 43:1, 9, 12). God's wisdom is a necessary parallel to his glory (Sir. 42:25): "One confirms the good things of the other, and who can have enough of beholding his δόξα."³⁰ The stability of creation mirrors the eternal nature of Glory and wisdom.³¹

The Qumran Hodayot celebrate the creative activity of God's Glory. The very first psalm (1QH i 1-39) depicts God as the author and master of everything: the whole of creation--both earth and man--bears witness to Glory:³²

Thou hast created all the spirits
 [and hast established a statute] and law
 for all their works.
 Thou hast spread the heavens for Thy glory (כבוד)
 and hast [appointed] all [their host]
 according to Thy will. ...
 Thou bringest forth sounds
 according to their mysteries,

³⁰ Cf. Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll From Masada with Introduction, Emendations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1965), 28.

³¹ Wolfgang Roth, "The Lord's Glory Fills Creation," *Explor* 6 (1981): 85-95; Johann Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BBB 37; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1971), 148; cf. Lee, *Forms*, 4 n. 13. Lee's criticisms of Marböck, while in the strictest sense true, do not affect the present discussion since there is no attempt to link the two hymns together (i.e., chs. 42-43 with 44-50) by the use of כבוד. All that is being argued is that "glory" and "wisdom" are paralleled in the creation hymn (chs. 42-43). Moreover, Lee's position is seriously undermined by the fact that the translators saw fit to render the passages in question by δόξα, the normal translating term for כבוד.

³² Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 19, divides the psalm into two parts: lines 1-20 discuss how God's wisdom finds its expression in his creation, and lines 21-31 contrast man's limitations with God's unbounded character; both (God's creative genius and man's limitedness) display God's glory.

and the flow of breath from the lips
 according to its reckoning
 that they may tell of Thy glory (כבוד)
 and recount Thy wonders ... (1QH i 9-10b; 27b-31).

Just as the heavens and all created spirits display the glory of God, so too man by his ability to give sound, makes known the glory of God. As the heavens reveal God, so should man.³³

The Hodayot echo the theme elsewhere. 1QH xiii praises God for a display of his כבוד in the works of creation. According to the psalmist, all works "shall recount Thy [God's] glory" (line 11).³⁴ Prepared before the foundation of the world, God "[appointed] these things in the mysteries of Thy [i.e., God's] wisdom to make known Thy [his] glory [to all]" (line 20). 1QH xvi 3, resonating Isa. 6:3,³⁵ reads: "Thy holy spirit can [pass] not [away]. The fullness of heaven and earth [attests it,] and the sum of all things [stands witness to] Thy glory."³⁶

Davidic messianic speculation can be traced to Royal traditions popular during the Davidic-Solomonic era. Such messianic reflection emphasized the special relationship of God and David. As recorded in 2 Samuel 7, this relationship hinged upon God's promise to David concerning an everlasting lineage. Dennis C. Duling traces the extensive development of messianic speculation surrounding the promise of God to David in 2 Samuel 7.³⁷

Duling isolates the central elements of the Davidic promise contained in 2 Samuel 7. He lists them as follows: (1) the

³³ כבוד in this passage does not mean "praise," though it can bear that meaning. In both halves of the hymn, כבוד refers to God's presence, which is celebrated with praise; cf. Delcor, *Hymnes*, 90: "Les chants sont destinés à célébrer la louange et la gloire divines." Cf. *Psa* 145:12.

³⁴ Curiously, *Mansoor*, *Hymns*, 177 n. 14, translates כבוד as "victory." He does so based upon 1 Sam. 4:21 and Job 29:20, which (he says) bear that meaning (both of which are disputable). Though כבוד can possibly bear the meaning of "victory" or "salvation," it does not do so in this context.

³⁵ Holm-Nielsen, *Hymns*, 236; Gaster, *Scriptures*, 252 n. 1.

³⁶ Trans. Gaster, *Scriptures*, 201.

³⁷ Dennis C. Duling, "The Promises to David and Their Entrance into Christianity--Nailing Down a Likely Hypothesis," *NTS* 20 (1974): 55-77; Ralph W. Klein, "Aspects of Intertestamental Messianism," *CTM* 43 (1972): 507-17.

promise of the descent of the king from the seed of David; (2) a special father-son relationship between the Davidic "seed" and God; and (3) an eternal reign of this Davidic "seed" on the throne of the kingdom of Israel forever. Duling also detects two subsidiary elements: (4) the interpretation of "house" as a dynasty, and (5) David's temporary chastisement. Duling traces the promise tradition through a host of passages in the Hebrew Bible,³⁸ in early Jewish texts,³⁹ and early Christian literature.⁴⁰ Duling successfully ferrets out the Davidic promise tradition chiefly because of the large number of metaphors used to refer to the promise of 2 Samuel 7.

Such metaphors are: the 'Twig out of the stump of Jesse', a 'branch from his roots', the 'Root of Jesse', the 'Shoot (of Righteousness)', the שִׁלְשִׁי, the 'seed' (of David), the 'horn', the 'sceptre', the 'lion', the 'star', the 'ruler's staff', and most importantly, the 'Shoot of David'. The verbs with these metaphors are related to their imagery; often they are cognates such as 'raise up' (ἀνατέλλω) or 'shoot up' (צִמָּח) or related terms (צִמָּח/ἀνίστημι).⁴¹

Though Duling does not mention glory, he might well have included it as one of the many metaphors used by the tradents to define the Davidic Messiah.

The Greek text of Sirach 47:11 employs the Royal "throne of glory" to speak of the Davidic promise: "The Lord took away his sins, and exalted his power (κέρας, "horn") forever; he gave him the covenant of kings and a throne of glory in Israel." The statement occurs in a larger passage (47:1-11) which praises the exploits of David. The lifting up of the "horn" of David is

³⁸ Gen. 49:8-12; Num. 24:9, 17; 1 Sam. 2:10; 2 Sam. 7:12; 21:7b; 1 Kgs. 2:4; 8:25; 9:4-5; 11:13, 32, 36; 15:4; 2 Kgs. 8:19; Psa. 18:51 (=Sam. 22:15); 89:4-5, 20-38, 50; 132:11-12, 17; 139:30; Isa. 11:1, 10; 53:2; Ezek. 21:32; 29:10, 21; Jer. 28:5; 33:14-16, 22; 34:24; 37:25; Zech. 3:8; 4:12; 9:9; 12:10.

³⁹ Sir. 44:10; 45:25; 47:22; 48:15; 51:12-15; 18 Benedictions; 1QH iii 13-18; 1QSa ii 11-12; 1QSB v 20; CD vii 18-21; 4QPBless; 4QIsaa; 4QFlor; T. Jud. 22:2-3; 24; Pss. Sol. 17-18.

⁴⁰ Rom. 15:9-12; 1 Cor. 15:25; 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1; Rom. 1:3-4; 1 Tim. 3:16; 2 Tim. 2:8; 1 Pet. 3:18-19, 22.

⁴¹ Duling, "Promise," 67-68.

paralleled by the establishment of a "throne of glory." "Throne of glory" is thus drawn into the field of signifiers which denote the Davidic messianic promise.⁴²

This conclusion is confirmed by a second passage which mentions a "throne of glory." 4QpIsa^a 8-10, a commentary on Isaiah 11:1-3, links the messianic "horn" with the "throne of glory."

[Interpreted, this concerns the Branch] of David who shall arise at the end [of days] ... God will uphold him with [the spirit of might and will give him] a throne of glory and a crown of [holiness] and many-colored garments ... [He will put a scepter] in his hand and he shall rule over all the [nations]. And Magog ... and his sword shall judge [all] the peoples (4QpIsa^a 8-10 iii 17-21 [= 7 iii 22-26]).

The passage heralds the coming of the "Branch," the Davidic Messiah, who is to arise at the end of days. This Davidic Messiah shall receive a "throne of glory" along with a crown, clothes and a scepter. Receiving the "throne of glory" inaugurates a day when this Branch will rule in the eschatological kingdom of God.

Echoing Psalms 1, 2, 8 and 18, Psalms of Solomon chapters 17 and 18 are usually considered the *locus classicus* for pre-Christian Davidic messianism.⁴³ Verses 30-32 speak of the changes which shall accompany the arrival of the Davidic Messiah:

And he will have gentile nations serving him under his yoke, and he will glorify the Lord in (a place) prominent (above) the whole earth.

⁴² Additionally, Duling, "Promise," 62, calls attention to Sir. 45:25. The Hebrew text describes David as "the son of Jesse," "of the tribe of Judah," the object of a covenant, and speaks of "the inheritance of a man, ש, before me, his glorious (dwelling)." This last phrase, rendered in Greek and Syriac as "the inheritance of the king is to his son alone," is a reflection of Isa. 11:10 and the כבוד of the root of Jesse.

⁴³ Duling, "Promise," 68; Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 308-321; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament Development*, 76-77; Joachim Schüpphaus, *Die Psalmen Salomos: Ein Zeugnis Jerusalemer Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Mitte des vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (ALGHJ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 64-74; James H. Charlesworth, "The Concept of the Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha," *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979): 188-219.

And he will purge Jerusalem (and make it) holy as it was even from the beginning, (for) nations to come from the ends of the earth to see his glory (ιδεῖν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ), to bring as gifts her children who had been driven out, and to see the glory of the Lord (ιδεῖν τὴν δόξαν κυρίου) with which God has glorified her (ἦν ἐδόξασεν αὐτὴν ὁ θεός). And he will be a righteous king over them, taught by God. There will be no unrighteousness among them in his days, for all shall be holy, and their king shall be the Lord Messiah (Pss. Sol. 17:30-32).⁴⁴

Verses 30-32 employ notoriously ambiguous symbols and passages in describing the Messianic age.⁴⁵ The author conflates the Davidic promise with other royal and prophetic images. As already demonstrated, the Royal trajectory employs many symbols to speak of God's eschatological rule on earth, thereby collapsing the referential boundary lines between a personified temple, Jerusalem/Zion, king, or creation.⁴⁶ The author also explicitly links the Messiah, as a revelation of Glory, with the transformation of Jerusalem and the ingathering of the nations.

Another passage in the Dibre Hamme'orot of Qumran cave 4 (4QDibHam iv = 4Q504) depends upon the promise tradition of

⁴⁴ Wright, "Psalms," 667 n. Inferring a "considerable pause" between vv. 31 and 32 (thus separating the discussion of the temple from the Messiah), Ryle and James, *Psalmoi*, 141, and, more recently, Gene L. Davenport, "'The Anointed of the Lord' in Psalms of Solomon 17," *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico: Scholars, 1980), 76, 88 n. 14, 91 n. 29, argue the "glory of the Lord" refers to temple; cf. Rendal Harris and Alphonse Mingana, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (2 vols; Manchester: University Press, 1916, 1920), 2:431. However, G. B. Gray, "The Psalms of Solomon," *APOT*, 2:650, notes that the "original form of this tristich (originally a distich?) is not correctly preserved." He surmises that the glory is "the glory of the Messianic king" and "her sons" refers to the "exiled inhabitants of Jerusalem." The context may well prove decisive: as Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 208-209, notes, several times the Messiah as "God's vicar and agent on earth ... shares in, or embodies divine qualities." Nickelsburg lists wisdom, strength and righteousness (vv. 25, 29, 42, 44), purity (v. 41), creative word and power (vv. 37-39; cf. Isa. 11:4) and source of blessing (v. 40) as depictions of the Messiah which normally belong to God. Thus, it would not be unnatural to find God's glory as a symbol for the Davidic kingly Messiah.

⁴⁵ De Jonge, "Psalms," 175, notes that Psalms 72:9-11, Isaiah 2:2-4, 60:2-7 and 66:18-21 stand behind the verses in question.

⁴⁶ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 209.

2 Samuel 7 by correlating the Davidic messianic figure and the revelation of God's כבוד.⁴⁷

Thy dwelling-place ... a resting-place in Jerus[alem, the city which] Thou hast chosen from all the earth that Thy name might remain there for ever. For thou hast loved Israel above all the peoples. Thou hast chosen the tribe of Judah and hast established Thy Covenant with David that he might be as a princely shepherd over Thy people and sit before Thee on the throne of Israel for ever. All the nations have seen Thy glory; Thou who hast sanctified Thyself in the midst of Thy people Israel (4QDibHam iv 1-9a).

4QDibHam heaps metaphor on top of metaphor in an attempt to describe the messianic age. The author conflates many of the symbols for God's presence: the temple (= the dwelling-, resting-place), Jerusalem, Israel, the tribe of Judah, the princely shepherd and throne of Israel.⁴⁸ Like Psalms of Solomon 17, 4QDibHam understands the fulfillment of the Davidic covenant to be the princely shepherd who will occupy the throne of God forever. The enthroning of this messianic, princely shepherd parades the כבוד of God before all nations.⁴⁹

4QFlorilegium also connects the Davidic Messiah figure and divine glory.

[I will appoint a place for my people Israel and will plant them that they may dwell there and be troubled no more by their] enemies. No son of iniquity [shall afflict them again] as formerly, for the day that [I set judges] over my people Israel (2 Sam. 7:10). This is the House which [He will build for them in the] last days, as it is written in the book of Moses, In the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever (Exod. 15:17-18). This is the House into which [the unclean shall] never [enter, not the

⁴⁷ 4QDibHam iv clearly builds upon Royal traditions. In specific, the election of Israel from all the nations, the election of the tribe of Judah, the covenant with David (2 Sam. 7), the throne, the glorification of the people/city and the blessing all point to the tradition-historical ties of this passage with that of Royal theology.

⁴⁸ The metaphors extend into lines 9b-21 and include name, people, Zion, holy city and House of Majesty.

⁴⁹ Maurice Baillet, "Un Recueil Liturgique de Qumran, Grotte 4: 'Les paroles des Luminaires,'" *RB* 68 (1961): 195-250 (especially 222), connects the revelation of Glory with Isa. 66:18-19, Isa. 62:2 and Psalms 97:6.

uncircumcised,] nor the Ammonite, nor the Moabite, nor the half-breed, nor the foreigner, nor the stranger, ever; for there shall My Holy Ones be. [Its glory shall endure] forever; it shall appear above it perpetually. And strangers shall lay it waste no more, as they formerly laid waste the sanctuary of Israel because of its sin. He has commanded that a sanctuary of men be built for Himself, that here they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the Law. ... The Lord declares to you that He will build you a House (2 Sam. 7:11c). I will raise up your seed after you (2 Sam. 7:12). I [will be] his father and he shall be my son (2 Sam 7:14). He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law [to rule] in Zion [at the end] of time. As it is written, I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen (Amos 9:11). That is to say, the fallen tent of David is he who shall arise to save Israel (4QFlor 1-7, 10-13).

Since the publication of the text in 1956,⁵⁰ 4QFlorilegium has commanded a great deal of attention. Even the title "Florilegium" has been debated.⁵¹ The dispute over the title, insofar as it impinged upon generic discussions, proved to be worthwhile. The debate unearthed the structural and methodological linkages between text and interpretation. In stereotypical fashion, different catchwords from different texts are linked together to

⁵⁰ J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956): 174-87; idem, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological MIDRASIM," *JBL* 77 (1958): 350-54. Cf. Y. Yadin, "A Midrash on 2 Sam. vii and Ps. i-ii (4Q Florilegium)," *IEJ* 9 (1959): 95-98; J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 221-25; George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSS 29; Sheffield; JSOT, 1985), 86-128.

⁵¹ Allegro, "Fragments," 350, at first puzzled by the genre, labeled it a florilegium, "a collection of midrasim on certain biblical texts" akin to other Qumran testimonia literature. Quickly after publication, William R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium," *JBL* 78 (1959): 343-46, corrected Allegro's classification by showing that the method of exegesis in 4QFlor bears close affinity with Qumran pesharim (e.g., 1QpHab, 4QpNah, and 1QPsa^a). Lane labeled 4QFlor a peshar. But 4QFlor defies even this classification because, as Knibb, *Qumran*, 257, notes, 4QFlor is unlike the other Qumran pesharim in that it does not comment on just one biblical book; it links together several passages from several different books, with peshar commentary. The texts brought together in this short document include (in order) 2 Sam. 7:10b-11a (lines 1-2a); Exod. 15:17-18 (line 3a); 2 Sam. 7:11b (line 7b); 2 Sam. 7:11c-14a (lines 10-11a); Amos 9:11 (line 12b); Psalms 1:1 (line 14a); Isa. 8:11 (lines 15b-16a); Ezek. 44:10 (lines 16b-17a); and Psalms 2:1 (lines 18-19a).

reinforce a particular line of pesher interpretation.⁵² Alan J. McNicol demonstrates this pattern in lines 1-7,⁵³ while Lou Silberman shows the same pattern with different words and texts in lines 10-13.⁵⁴

McNicol shows how the "place" is linked with the eschatological "house" by the catchword "sanctuary"; in lines 10-13, Silberman shows how the future "seed" of David is linked to the "Branch" by the catchwords "raise up," "tent" and "shoot." McNicol and Silberman, however, have missed the way in which lines 1-7 and 10-13 are linked: lines 1-7 and 10-13 are linked by the catchword "house." In other words, the place-house-sanctuary of lines 1-7 should be identified with the seed-house-tent-shoot-Branch of lines 10-13.

This line of interpretation has several advantages: (1) it recognizes that the catchword pattern of lines 1-7 and lines 10-13 runs throughout the whole passage; (2) it recognizes the (intentional?) ambiguity of 2 Samuel 7:1-17 where the meaning of "house" oscillates between place and person; and (3) it coheres with what has been found elsewhere: the compounding of metaphors to focus upon the future Davidic Messiah.⁵⁵

Given the ambiguity of the many metaphors employed in 2 Samuel 7, nothing prevents the interpretation of the "house" as a future person.⁵⁶ The intervening material is included because of

⁵² Patte, *Jewish Hermeneutic*, 297-98; James Parker, *The Concept of Apokatastasis in Acts: A Study in Primitive Christian Theology* (Austin: Schola, 1978), 84-87.

⁵³ Alan J. McNicol, "The Eschatological Temple in the Qumran Pesher 4QFlorilegium 1:1-7," *Ohio Journal of Religious Studies* 5 (1977): 133-41.

⁵⁴ Lou H. Silberman, "A Note on 4Q Florilegium," *JBL* 78 (1959): 158-59.

⁵⁵ It might be objected that lines 8 and 9 separate the two discussions and that lines 1-7 deal with the "house" in some sort of earthly fulfillment--either a future material temple or the Qumran community--while lines 10-13 treat "house" as a messianic figure. But nothing in the text demands that the house be a future material sanctuary. The passage does not contrast a future building with a future person; rather, the passage compares the past with the future.

⁵⁶ In fact, many scholars have seen in this passage a reference to the Qumran communities' self-consciousness as the eschatological "house." See Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New*

the commentary structure: the author followed--albeit selectively--the order of 2 Samuel 7; and, further, as Duling observes, the rest from enemies (i.e., 2 Sam. 7:11, upon which lines 8 and 9 comment) is actually part of the Messianic promise tradition.⁵⁷ The subject matter never changes. 4QFlorilegium identifies the "place" of 2 Samuel 7:10a as the Davidic Messiah. The "place"

Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 30-41; Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 75-87. Others, however, doubt such an association: Yigael Yadin, "A Midrash on 2 Sam. vii and Ps. i-ii (4Q Florilegium)," *IEJ* 9 (1959): 95-98; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 159-177; and McNicol, "Eschatological Temple," 133-41. The passage, however, cannot support the claims of either side. David Flusser, "Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam. vii," *IEJ* 9 (1959): 99-109 (especially 102), notes the antithetical relationship between the pure, eternal, eschatological "sanctuary of the Lord" and the defiled, destroyed, historical "sanctuary of Israel" (i.e., the first Temple). Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Three Temples of 4 Q Florilegium," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 83-91, goes a step further. He observes that the passage refers to three temples: the promised "sanctuary of the Lord" (i.e., the eschatological "house"), the "sanctuary of Israel" (i.e., the historical first temple) and the "sanctuary of men" (presumably the Qumran community). While there is an antithetical relationship between the future, pure, eternal "sanctuary" and the defiled, destroyed and past "sanctuary," the relationship between the first two sanctuaries and "sanctuary of/amongst men" is quite ambiguous. Whether the "sanctuary of/amongst men" is (1) a proleptic fulfillment of the eschatological "sanctuary," (2) in some way prefigures the eschatological "sanctuary," or (3) is just an interim "sanctuary" cannot be determined from the text--despite the confident claims of some. 4QFlor is often compared with 11QT xxix 7-10, which reads: "I shall accept them and they shall be my people and I shall be for them for ever. I will dwell with them for ever and ever and will sanctify my [sa]nctuary by my glory. I will cause my glory to rest on it until the day of creation on which I shall create my covenant which I have made with Jacob in Bethel." Though the future sanctuary will be cleansed by Glory and will be the "resting" place for Glory, it is not linked with the Davidic Messiah. The eschatological character of the sanctuary where Glory is revealed is uncertain. See Johann Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (JSOTSS 34; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 32, 86. Cf. B. E. Thiering, "Mebaqqer and Episkopos in the Light of the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 100 (1981): 59-74 (especially 60-61).

⁵⁷ Duling, "Promise," 65-66.

is the "person," and consequently the Davidic Messiah becomes the revealer of the כבוד--his "glory shall endure forever."⁵⁸

D. THE PROPHETIC GLORY CONSTRUAL

The canonical prophets refashioned the signifying range of the Glory tradition; they did so in accordance with a larger pattern of prophetic thought. This pattern included judgment, exodus, restoration and re-creation. The early Jewish tradents perpetuate this prophetic Glory construal.

A hint of a prophetic reading of Glory as judgment can be found in a fragment of the Micah commentary preserved at Qumran (1QpMic = 1Q14). Probably a comment on Micah 1:9, the commentary reads:

As to the words: It reacheth into the gate of my people, this means that God's glory (כבוד) will move (once more) from Se'ir to Jerusalem. [] For God will come forth from [] (1QpMic 12:2).⁵⁹

Combining Micah with Deuteronomy 33:2,⁶⁰ the commentator depicts the "coming" of God's כבוד to Jerusalem from Seir for the purpose of judging Judah.

The commentary on Nahum (4QpNah = 4Q169) preserves even a longer passage.

I will cast filth upon you and treat you with contempt and render you despicable, so that all who look upon you shall flee from you (Nah.

⁵⁸ In lines 1-7, the "house" is identified as the eschatological "sanctuary" through which God will reign. A brief description of this "sanctuary of God" ensues in which the eschatological "sanctuary" is contrasted with the "sanctuary of Israel." This God-built, eschatological kingdom "house"/"sanctuary" is then defined in two ways. First, the eschatological "house"/"sanctuary" is pure and holy. None who are considered unclean can enter. This is (i) because God's Holy Ones (presumably angels) dwell there, (ii) because God's glory is revealed there, and (iii) because God's glory abides there. Second, this "house"/"sanctuary" will never be destroyed again. Unlike the "sanctuary of Israel," which had suffered destruction and defilement, this eschatological "house"/"sanctuary" will be eternal.

⁵⁹ Trans. Gaster, *Scriptures*, 312. Cf. Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 57.

⁶⁰ Gaster, *Scriptures*, 338 n. 5.

3:6-7a). Interpreted, this concerns those who seek smooth things, whose evil deeds shall be uncovered to all Israel at the end of time. Many shall understand their iniquity and treat them with contempt because of their guilty presumption. When the glory (כבוד) of Judah shall arise, the simple of Ephraim shall flee from their assembly; they shall abandon those who lead them astray and shall join Israel (4QpNah 3-4 iii 1-7).

In canonical Nahum, Israel is judged in front of the nations; in the Qumran commentary, however, the judgment falls upon the Pharisees, the "Seekers-After-Smooth-Things," and upon those who follow the Pharisees, the "simple of Ephraim."⁶¹ When the "glory of Judah" appears, he shall purge and restore. This end-time revelation bears marked resemblance to the prophetic use of Glory as a judgment term. The "glory of Judah" is the presence of (Judah's) God which will be revealed at the end of time.⁶²

God's Glory not only comes to judge Israel, but comes for the purposes of reversal and transformation. Two passages in the book of Tobit reflect indebtedness to this aspect of a prophetic Glory construal. The first passage occurs in Tobit's song of praise in which he sings of God's goodness (13:1-8) and speaks of the new and ideal Jerusalem (13:9-18). The second reference occurs in chapter 14, where the end of Tobit's life is then recorded, including his farewell discourse (14:1-11a).⁶³

How blessed are those who love you. They will rejoice in your peace. Blessed are those who grieved over all your afflictions; for they will rejoice for you upon seeing all your glory (θεασάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν σου) and they will be made glad for ever. ... But God will again have mercy on them, and bring them back into their land; and they will rebuild the house of God, though it will not be like the former one until the times of the age are completed. After this they will return

⁶¹ Horgan, *Pesharim*, 161; Knibb, *Qumran*, 215.

⁶² Knibb, *Qumran*, 216, however, understands "glory of Judah" as simply a reference to "the vindication and triumph of the community in the events of the end." This interpretation, though possible, is not probable given the long-standing tradition-history concerning the revelation of Glory. See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 186; cf. J. M. Allegro, "More Unpublished Pieces of a Qumran Commentary on Nahum (4Q pNah)," *JSS* 7 (1961): 304-308.

⁶³ John Craghan, *Esther, Judith, Tobit, Jonah, Ruth* (OTM 16; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1982), 158.

from the places of their captivity, and will rebuild Jerusalem in splendour. And the house of God will be rebuilt there with a glorious (ἐνδόξῳ) building for all generations for ever, just as the prophets said of it (Tob. 13:14-16; 14:5).

These passages in Tobit betray all the earmarks of a prophetic re-working of a Royal theology⁶⁴--especially at the point of Glory. Those who love the King of heaven, who rejoice in the peace which he alone can provide, and who presently grieve will rejoice at seeing his δόξα (Tob. 3:14).⁶⁵ The revelation of Glory transforms grief into gladness. The appearing of δόξα is thus a redemptive theophany. In the second passage, the rescue motif is combined with the recreation of Zion. The rebuilt Jerusalem, a city of glory, will last eternally. The author seems to echo the building of the temple as reported in Ezra 3, while speaking of a third temple which will be rebuilt at the end time.⁶⁶

Two passages which many have thought to have some sort of literary relationship (i.e., 1 Bar. 4-5 and Pss. Sol. 11)⁶⁷ also

⁶⁴ In chapter 13, the presence of a Royal theology can be seen in the claims that God lives forever (v. 1), that He is the Lord of righteousness (v. 6), that he is the King of ages (vv. 6, 10) and that He is the King of heaven (vv. 7, 11). Also detectable, however, is a prophetic re-working of a Royal tradition, especially seen in the kerygmatic purpose of the exile. The people are exiled in order to make known the greatness of God (v. 6) and his power and majesty (μεγαλωσύνην) among the nations (vv. 4, 6). Though they are afflicted now, in due course the sons of Israel shall again receive mercy (vv. 2, 5, 9, 10). Jerusalem is judged now, but God will again gather Israel back into a new, enriched, rebuilt and transformed city (vv. 9, 16-18; Isa. 54:11). Cf. ❸II (Sinaiticus), in Robert Hanhart, ed., *Tobit* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 8/5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 174. All nations will be gathered into Jerusalem (v. 11). God will again so identify himself with his people that other nations will be cursed or blessed based upon their actions towards Israel. All themes witness to a prophetic reading of Royal motifs.

⁶⁵ Cf. ❸II, Hanhart, *Tobit*, 173.

⁶⁶ Frank Zimmerman, *The Book of Tobit: An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 158.

⁶⁷ The relationship between these two passages is not clear, however. Some, like Ryle and James, *Psalmoi*, lxxii-lxxiv, argue for the literary dependence of Baruch upon Pss. Sol. Others, like Wilhelm Pesch, "Die Abhängigkeit des 11. Salomonische Psalms vom letzten Kapitel des Buches Baruch," *ZAW* 67 (1955): 251-63, argue just the opposite. Still others have argued that a third source is involved between the two (see Moore, *Additions*, 315, who cites Kneucker, Charles, Harwell, Gelin). What is

disclose a prophetic outlook. 1 Baruch 4:5-5:9 is a psalm of encouragement and hope. In contrast with the more logical wisdom poem preceding it (1 Bar. 3:9-4:4), the psalm dramatically rehearses the past (exile) and awakens hope for the future (return).⁶⁸ There can be no doubt about this psalm's dependence upon the prophetic tradition. The specific lines of indebtedness can be mapped out based upon themes, metaphors, and words.⁶⁹ Δόξα, one of the dominant themes in this psalm, naturally then highlights the prophetic kerygma of Glory.

Building upon Isaiah 60:1-3,⁷⁰ Baruch 4:24 announces the rescue will be just as public as Israel's march into captivity. The revelation of God's "great glory" (δόξης μεγάλης) and "eternal splendor" (λαμπρότητας τοῦ αἰωνίου) ushers in a salvation which will be seen by all. In 5:7, echoing Isaiah 40:4,⁷¹ the captives will be delivered safely by God's δόξα.⁷² The theophany of Glory secures release (ἀσφαλῶς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξῃ).

God's δόξα also insures the condition of return for the captives. The sons of Jerusalem are to return to Jerusalem and exchange sorrow for triumph. The parade home is marked by Israel's joyfully basking in presence of God (τῷ φωτὶ τῆς

clear, however, is that there is some sort of relationship between the two documents (Moore, *Additions*, 314-16), though it is impossible to determine the exact nature of the relationship.

⁶⁸ Moore, *Additions*, 313. The Psalm can be further subdivided into several unequal stanzas. See the various divisions in, e.g., Leonhard Rost, *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon: An Introduction to the Documents* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 70-71; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 113. The psalm can also be divided in terms of speakers: the psalmist (4:5-9a; 4:30-5:9) and Jerusalem (4:9b-29).

⁶⁹ Moore, *Additions*, 313, goes so far as to say that "whereas the Wisdom poem drew its inspiration, content, and phraseology primarily from Job, Ecclesiastes, and the Wisdom of Solomon, the psalm drew its inspiration primarily, if not almost exclusively, from Deutero-Isaiah, i.e., 40-55." Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 153, nn. 36, 37, 38, echoes this conclusion by pointing to background passages such as Isa. 47:1-9; 49:14-23; 52:1-2; 54:1-13; 60:4-9.

⁷⁰ Moore, *Additions*, 310.

⁷¹ O. C. Whitehouse, "I Baruch," *APOT*, 1:595; Moore, *Additions*, 312.

⁷² Cf. Exod. 6:6; 32:7, 34 LXX.

δόξης, 5:9). The people of Israel shall return ὡς θρόνον,⁷³ piloted by God's presence (μετὰ δόξης, 5:6). The δόξα-inaugurated and δόξα-led return eclipses any memory of Israel's ignoble departure. The people walked out in defeat; the people shall be carried back as a victorious king.

But to what shall the people return? In Baruch 5:1, a passage based upon Isaiah 52:1, Jerusalem is instructed to take off garments of sorrow and affliction and to put on beauty and the glory (δόξα) of God which is eternal; put on clothing worthy of God--a robe of righteousness and a diadem of Glory.⁷⁴ Jerusalem's transformation will be so thoroughgoing that God can rename the city peace, righteousness and δόξα (5:4).⁷⁵

Psalms of Solomon 11 invokes similar imagery, traceable to the same metaphorical quarry.⁷⁶ The psalm is shorter than that of Baruch,⁷⁷ and only twice refers to the theme of Glory.⁷⁸ Δόξα is instrumental in guiding the people of Israel back to Jerusalem (v. 6); they are to proceed under the supervision of the "glory of God" (δόξης θεοῦ αὐτῶν).⁷⁹ In verse 7, the new

⁷³ The Greek translator misunderstood the Hebrew so-called "pregnant" beth. See Whitehouse, "I Baruch," *APOT*, 1:595. Cf. Isa. 49:22; 60:4, 9; 66:20.

⁷⁴ Cf. Pss. Sol. 2:21 where Jerusalem is instructed to do just the opposite.

⁷⁵ Cf. Moore, *Additions*, 311, who translates the phrase "Peace through righteousness, Glory through devotion."

⁷⁶ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 206, describes the psalm as a "pastiche of phrases and imagery from Second Isaiah"; in specific, he points to Isa. 40:1-5; 41:19; 43:5-6, 49:6; 52:1-2; 60:1-4.

⁷⁷ The argument of the psalm can be outlined as follows: employing the jubiliary language of Isaiah (52:7; 61:1-4), v. 1 announces the news of salvation (release). Jerusalem is then instructed to look for the homecoming of her sons and daughters, for they shall come from all directions (vv. 2-3). Next, echoing Isa. 40:1-4, God's intervention in helping his children to come home is described (vv. 4-6). Jerusalem is then invited to rejoice in the return of her people (v. 7). Finally, the psalm closes with a prayer for a speedy realization of these events. See Ryle and James, *Psalmoi*, 100.

⁷⁸ Cf. Pss. Sol. 13:8.

⁷⁹ Possibly a better translation would be "visitation of the glory of their God." Cf. Wis. 3:7; As. Mos. 1:17; Harris and Mingana, *Odes and Psalms*, 424.

Jerusalem is told to put on the clothes of Glory (Ἐνδύσαι τὰ ἱμάτια δόξης, cf. Bar. 5:1).

Amongst the collection of apocryphal psalms found in Qumran cave 11 is a hymn to Zion (11QPs^a xxii). This acrostic hymn, through a complex and intricate literary structure,⁸⁰ celebrates the day when salvation will come to Zion. Lines 4-5 and 18c, read as follows:

They who desire the day of your salvation shall rejoice in the greatness of your glory (כבוד). They shall be suckled on the fullness of your glory (כבוד) and in your beautiful streets they shall make tinkling sounds ... May my soul rejoice in your glory (כבוד).

The psalm betrays a prophetic reading of a Royal theology.⁸¹ The psalmist prays that Zion would "take the vision which speaks of you, and the dreams of the prophets requested for you, [and] be exalted and increase, O Zion" (lines 17-18). The psalmist hopes all that the dramatic transformation which prophets foresaw and foretold would come true. When salvation comes, Zion shall be drenched in כבוד; it will give nourishment to all, and all shall rejoice in its כבוד.

Finally, the work of Norman J. Cohen can be fruitfully harvested as a witness to the perpetuation of the prophetic construal of the Glory tradition-history.⁸² Cohen examines the midrashic texts employing Shekinah in the tannaitic and amoric literature. According to Cohen, as a response to the destruction of the temple in 70 c.e., the Rabbis developed the concept of Histalkut ha-Shekinah, "the departure of God's presence." Cohen notes that the departure served as a judgment upon the people.

⁸⁰ Pierre Auffret, "Structure littéraire de l'Hymne à Sion de 11 Q Ps^a XXII, 1-15," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 203-12.

⁸¹ Gaster, *Scriptures*, 262-63, nn. 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, calls attention to the similarity of wording and metaphors between this psalm and prophetic passages like Jer. 8:15; 14:19; Isa. 56:1; Ezek. 19:5; and 14:19.

⁸² Norman J. Cohen, "Shekinta Ba-Galuta: A Midrashic Response to Destruction and Persecution," *JSJ* 13 (1983): 147-59.

The Rabbis also draw a picture of a relenting God who, despite sin and uncleanness, comes to dwell with Israel. In contrast to the departure of God's Shekinah, the motif of Shekinta ba-Galuta, "the Shekinah in exile," highlights God as sharing the sufferings of Israel and promising deliverance. The Rabbis employed Israel's Egyptian and Babylonian experiences in developing the "shared suffering" and "deliverance" themes--themes already echoed in the prophetic Glory construal.

This chapter demonstrates that all the various construals of the Glory tradition, as identified in the Hebrew Bible, were preserved, nourished and developed by early Jewish tradents. (1) Building upon the theophany trajectory, the Jewish tradents employed the Glory tradition to signal the defeat of evil (1QH iii 32-36). (2) By appealing to the experiences of Moses (Exod. 24; 33), the early Jewish tradents parlayed the Sinaitic Glory construal into legitimizing new revelation. God's Glory legitimized a book (Jub. 1:2-4), the disclosure of eschatological signs (2 Macc. 2:8), the new covenant (1Q34), Moses as both "patriarch" and "teacher" (Sir. 45:1-5) and Adam and Eve as ideal "types" (Sir. 17:11, 14). The paradigmatic appeal to the Sinaitic revelation of כבוד often took place in an eschatological context. The tradents also reinvested the Sinaitic Glory with a new signification: as revelation, the seeing of God (glory) and the knowing of God (wisdom, law, commandments) coalesce (Jub. 1:4c; 2 Macc. 2:8; 1Q34 ii; Sir. 17:11-14; 45:1-5; 1QM x 8b-11). (3) The early Jewish tradents also recycle Royal Glory construal: Glory dwells in the temple (Pr. Azar. 31; 3 Macc. 2:9, 14-16; Add. Esth. 14:1-19); Jerusalem is clothed in glory (2 Bar. 11:1; Pss. Sol. 2:3-5, 19; 13:6-8); God is the "King of Glory" who shares his glory with his chosen representative (1QM xii 6-11); and creation bears the indelible marks of God's glory (Sir. 42:16, 17, 25; 43:1, 9, 12; 1QH i 1-39; xii 11, 20; xvi 3). By affixing God's glory to each, the tradents identified these institutions, people and places as symbols for God. The tradents amplify the referential powers of Glory as a symbol for God. As one of many metaphors referring to the Davidic promise (2 Sam.

7), Glory helped define the Davidic messianic figure (Sir. 47:11; 4QpIsa^a 8-10 iii 17-21). The Messiah came to be known as the revealer of divine Glory (Pss. Sol. 17:30-32; 4QDibHam iv; 4QFlor 1-7, 10-13; 2 Bar. 30:1-2). (4) The early Jewish tradents also perpetuate the prophetic Glory construal. Like the prophetic use of theophany, the revelation of Glory connotes his judgment (1QpMic 12:2; 4QpNah 3-4 iii 1-7). Also like כבוד in prophetic eschatology, Glory figures prominently in the future of Israel: Glory will secure the eschatological release of Israel from captivity; Glory will accompany them safely in a regal return; and Israel will return to a Zion transformed by Glory. In sum, Glory inaugurates and defines the end-time future.

Up to this point in the discussion, כבוד and δόξα have both been used interchangeably to refer to the Glory tradition. The next chapter explores the relationship between כבוד and δόξα in the Septuagint. The focus of the exploration will center upon how a Greek word, δόξα, a word whose meaning in Greek ostensibly had little or nothing to do with the visible presence of a god, came to translate the Hebrew word כבוד, a technical term for God's visible appearing.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LXX: WITNESS AND PRESERVER OF THE GLORY TRADITION

The Hellenistic period provides a well equipped *religionsgeschichtliche* laboratory for the study of Judaism(s). Because Jews were confronted with the religious traditions of other civilizations (Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic, Egyptian, Roman), the Hellenistic era provides an opportunity to see if Jewish religious tradents passively adopted and/or actively shaped their religious heritage.

It might be supposed that the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint (LXX), would act as something of a control: the Jewish translation of authoritative Jewish texts into Greek, presumably intended for Greek-speakers, furnishes a prime opportunity to discover how Jewish and Greek traditions interfaced. However, a deep cleavage runs through scholarly opinion concerning the character of the Septuagint.¹

On the one hand, some scholars think that the LXX (and the New Testament) betrays something of a "Holy Ghost language." That is, peculiarly Hebrew ways of thinking, Hebrew grammatical style and Hebrew expressions profoundly altered the language of the Greek Bible.² The translators of the Hebrew

¹ For summaries of the debate, see E. V. McKnight, "Is the New Testament Written in 'Holy Ghost' Greek?" *BT* 16 (1965): 87-93; Moisés Silva, "Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek," *Bib* 61 (1980): 198-219; G. H. R. Horsley, "Divergent View on the Nature of the Greek of the Bible," *Bib* 65 (1984): 393-403.

² Hermann Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek* (4th ed; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895); Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889); Henry S. Gehman, "The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek," *VT* 1 (1951): 81-90; Thorlief Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (London: SCM, 1960); Nigel Turner, "The Language of the New Testament," *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (ed.

Bible (and early Christians) filled Greek words with Hebrew meanings, thereby rescuing these Greek words from the depths of profane usage and elevating them to a new religious significance. The translation of כבוד by δόξα exemplifies such a linguistic "missionary" process. Gerhard Kittel, the architect of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, writes:

Much greater in number, however, are words which have, so to speak, been re-created by the Septuagint, and which have thereby become new words, and as such have then passed into the New Testament. Let us consider δόξα again. The most important meaning of δόξα in classical Greek is "opinion" (Latin *opinio*). This sense of the word completely vanishes in Biblical language the moment the Septuagint uses δόξα as the equivalent of the Hebrew כבוד. Δόξα henceforth no longer stands for "the personal opinion of an individual," the most subjective thing there is; but, in complete contrast, it now stands for God's Glory, God's Own Essence, the most objective thing there is.³

In contrast, other scholars maintain that the LXX (and the New Testament) is not the sacred bearer of divine language. The Greek of the LXX is simply *Koiné* Greek. A comparison of Septuagintal Greek with that of the papyri and inscriptions establishes such an identification. Semitisms in the LXX (and

M. Black and H. H. Rowley; London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 659-62; Henry S. Gehman, "Adventures in Septuagint Lexicography," *Textus* 5 (1966): 125-32; Nigel Turner, *Christian Words* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1980). Additionally, some writers in the celebrated *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* share such an opinion (see James P. Martin, "Theological Wordbooks: Tools for the Preacher," *Int* 18 [1964]: 304-28) as do some in the so-called "Biblical Theology Movement" (see Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970], 44-47). Certainly, the theological/philosophical views of the authors cited above are anything but monolithic; the point being made, however, concerns the peculiarity of "Biblical Greek" and its relationship to its semitic antecedents.

³ Gerhard Kittel, *Lexicographia Sacra: Two Lectures on the Making of the Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* ("Theology" Occasional Papers 7; London: SPCK, 1938), 22 (cf. a similar statement, idem, "Δόξα," 245). Kittel, though warning that "serious exegetical misinterpretations can readily arise if we seek to discover in a word more theological mysteries than are actually there" (12), was quite willing to speak of the study of New Testament language in a special sense, as "Lexicographia Sacra" and New Testament philology as "Philologia Sacra vere Theologica."

the New Testament) are not to be denied; their limited presence does not prove that LXX is written in anything other than *Koiné* Greek. The LXX is a Greek book, employing common Greek words, with well-known, Greek meanings.⁴ Concerning δόξα Adolf Deissmann can thus write:

Nun haben wir ja gewiss für δόξα in der realistischen Bedeutung *Lichtglanz* bis jetzt meines Wissens keinen sicheren Beleg ausserhalb der biblischen Texte, aber die Vermutung, dass Übersetzer des Alten Testaments, die das hebräische כבוד durch δόξα wiedergaben, diesem Worte eine realistische Bedeutung aufgezwangt haben, die es sonst nicht hatte, ist unnatürlicher, als die andere, dass sie einfach die alte realistische, in der Volkssprache ihrer Umgebung noch fortlebende Grundbedeutung aufgegriffen haben.⁵

Deissmann's view of Septuagintal Greek led him to a very different conclusion concerning the כבוד-δόξα relationship.

Without attempting to solve the debate concerning the character of Septuagintal (and New Testament) Greek, what can be said about δόξα? First (with Deissmann), a Greek-translation, written for Greek-speakers, in the Greek speaking environment of Alexandria, would not employ a Greek word in translation which would be completely unintelligible to (Greek?) readers. On the other hand (with Kittel), something happened to the meaning of δόξα in the LXX which cannot be explained

⁴ T. K. Abbott, *Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891), 65-109; H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek or The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895); G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901); idem, *Light From the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (New York: George H. Doran, 1927); W. L. Lorimer, "Deissmannism before Deissmann," *ExpT* 32 (1921/1922): 330; J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-Literary Sources* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1930); Moisés Silva, "Semantic Borrowing in the New Testament," *NTS* 22 (1975): 104-10; J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SBLSCS 14; Chico: Scholars, 1983).

⁵ G. A. Deissmann, "Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 11 (1903): 165-66 [emphases his].

simply as the word's usage "in der Volkssprache ihrer Umgebung."⁶ Δόξα as visible, divine presence (Deissmann's Lichtglanz) is unknown and unattested before the LXX.⁷ Thus

⁶ Deissmann, "Hellenisierung," 165-166. In one way or another, nearly all who have studied the relationship agree that something happened to the meaning of δόξα due to its contact with כבוד. See especially, A. Haire Forster, "The Meaning of Δόξα in the Greek Bible," *ATR* 12 (1929): 315; L. H. Brockington, "The Presence of God," 23; idem, "The Septuagintal Background to the New Testament Use of ΔΟΞΑ," *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (ed. D. E. Nineham; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 1; G. B. Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel: An Exercise in Biblical Semantics," *NTS* 15 (1968): 267, 276; S. Aalen, "Glory, Honour," 45. Even a cursory comparison of the semantic range of δόξα in pre- and post-LXX Greek literature demonstrates this; see H. G. Liddel, R. Scott, and R. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 444; E. C. E. Owen, "Δόξα and Cognate Words," *JTS* o.s. 33 (1932): 132-50, 265-79; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 380-82. The semantic change of δόξα is not without implications for the history of the Latin *gloria*; see Mauritius Steinheimer, *Die ΔΟΞΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ in der Römischen Liturgie* (Münchener Theologische Studien 4; München: Karl Zink, 1951); A. J. Vermeulen, *The Semantic Development of Gloria in Early-Christian Latin* (Latinias Christianorum Primaeva; Nijmegen, Dekker & van de Vegt, 1956).

⁷ Three issues need to be clarified which are often muddled together. Some argue (1) כבוד יהוה in the Hebrew Bible can be reduced to a "light" phenomenon (so Deissmann, "Hellenisierung," 165-66, and G. H. Boobyer, "Thanksgiving", 8-12), a conception of God which (2) made its way into Judaism through contact with Persian religious influence during the exile (so Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterien-Religionen* [3d ed; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1927], 355-60; Boobyer, "Thanksgiving", 56) and thus (3) could be translated by δόξα because of its own (pre-LXX) associations with (divine?) light phenomenon (so Boobyer, "Thanksgiving", 7; Schneider, *Doxa*, 22, 179. In response: (1) Part 1 of this study demonstrates that כבוד in the Hebrew Bible cannot be reduced to a "light" phenomena. Though described as "fire," and used in theophanic settings, כבוד, when used in reference to Yahweh, is best semantically defined as revealed, visual, divine presence. For the interrelationships between light phenomena and כבוד as divine presence consult S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und in Rabbinismus* (Hist.-filos Kl. 1; Oslo: Skilviter utg. av Det Norske Vitenskaps-Akad. i Oslo, 1951), 202. (2) Part 1 of this study also demonstrates that the Glory tradition (though possibly/probably much older) crystallized at the beginning of the Davidic Monarchy--not during the exilic period. Helmut Kittel, *Herrlichkeit Gottes*, after an exhaustive examination of "light" and "power" terminology in eastern religions, concludes that the כבוד traditions contained in the Hebrew Bible developed in an independent manner and were only secondarily influenced by Persian parallels. (3) Kittel, "Δόξα," 236-37, demonstrates

an impasse: how is one to resolve the need for intelligibility on the one hand and the undeniable discontinuity in meaning on the other?

In 1961 James Barr published his *The Semantics of Biblical Language*,⁸ a book which in many ways shook the foundations of Biblical scholarship. In this book Barr exposed the widespread abuse of linguistic principles in Biblical scholarship. For example, based upon grammar, style and vocabulary, Barr protested the way in which (supposedly) theologically loaded words were used to make a distinction between Hebrew and Greek modes of "religious thinking." Barr also critiqued the abuse of etymology (the appeal to etymology as the final arbiter; and the "adding of significances") in theological interpretation. Barr instead argued that the sentence is the primary bearer of meaning--not the etymology or sum total of all the different meanings of a word. Barr's analysis seriously undermined the "word-concept" method of "Biblical Theology" represented by many of the articles in the celebrated *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*.⁹ Though largely negative, the work of Barr did spawn several constructive formulations.¹⁰

Barr's critique was soon answered by David Hill in a book provocatively entitled *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*.¹¹

Schneider's claims about the (supposed) pre-LXX associations of δόξα and "light" terminology to be inaccurate. See further, Caird, "Semantics," 267.

⁸ (Oxford: University Press, 1961).

⁹ So poisonous was the pen of Barr that, according to Childs, *Biblical Theology*, 72, "there even fell a shadow across the mighty Kittel's *Wörterbuch*."

¹⁰ John F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation* (SBT 24; London: SCM, 1972); Anthony C. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation," *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* (ed. I. H. Marshall; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 75-104; A. Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic* (New York: St. Martin's, 1981); J. P. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek* (SBLSS; Philadelphia/Chico: Fortress/Scholars, 1982); Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983).

¹¹ David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (SNTSMS 5; Cambridge: University Press, 1967).

Though conceding some abuses, Hill, through his study of some key soteriological terms, sought to vindicate the method of the Kittel *Wörterbuch*. Hill objected that Barr defined too narrowly the parameters for determining meaning. Barr's myopic concern for the "linguistic context" (i.e., the sentence as the legitimate bearer of meaning) ignored the non-linguistic "universe of discourse."¹²

According to Hill, "a historical perspective is needed to provide an adequate context of meaning." Part of this "historical perspective" included the relationship of Greek words to their Hebrew counterparts, especially since these Greek words "bear the impress of special Hebraic influence."¹³ Through the Septuagint, "Greek words changed their meaning, or added a new meaning, in Jewish and Christian usage."¹⁴ In other words, through the process of translation the potential exists for semantic change.¹⁵

The *δόξα-כבוד* relationship has been analyzed precisely along the lines of semantic change. James Lee, in his lexical analysis of the LXX Pentateuch, writes:

Moreover, it is probable that the "translation language" which resulted from translation of the OT into Greek exerted an influence on the spoken language of Jews, particularly in regard to religious

¹² Ibid., 7-8.

¹³ Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁴ Ibid., 18 [emphasis his].

¹⁵ For a discussion of the principles of semantic change, see Stephen Ullmann, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 161-62, 197-210, 227-35. In one way or another, *δόξα*'s semantic change has been acknowledged for a long time--even by those who agree with Deissmann concerning the nature of Greek in the LXX. E.g., T. K. Abbott, *Essays*, 71, eschews the practice of allowing a Hebrew meaning to cover over a Greek word "except in the case of terms of Hebrew theology" [emphasis mine]. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, 94-95, also refers to a "technical theological vocabulary" in the LXX and the New Testament which possessed a "Biblical Signification." Kennedy lists *δόξα* as just such a technical term. Here Kennedy was building upon the work of Joseph H. Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), 687-724.

terminology. ... certain words undergo an extension or alteration of meaning through application to specifically Jewish objects.¹⁶

Lee lists δόξα as one of those words which had undergone such an "extension or alteration in meaning." Moisés Silva comes to the same conclusion when he describes δόξα's change of meaning as due to "semantic conservatism."¹⁷

For once we realize the (semi-) technical terms in the Bible have undergone this type of change, it becomes clear why they are susceptible to little lexicographical investigation. If the linguist ascertains that ἄγγελος [read δόξα] is being used to cover the meaning of Hebrew *mal'ak* [read כבוד] ... there his work ends: any further discussion of the meaning of ἄγγελος becomes a discussion of Hebrew theology, not of lexicography.¹⁸

But even if the כבוד-δόξα relationship can be described in terms of semantic change through translation, a question still remains: why was δόξα chosen as the translating term for כבוד--especially since the two words differ vastly in meaning? The answer to this question (with Hill) really does move beyond the "linguistic context" of the sentence.

To be fair, Barr acknowledged the potential for semantic change. He postulated that "the degree to which the individual word can be related directly to the theological thought depends considerably on the degree to which the word becomes a technical term."¹⁹ In fact, Barr argued that the translation process ought to be examined carefully. Among the many criticisms which he levels against Hill's book, Barr writes that Hill's Septuagintal work is too "formalistic" and lacks the "penetration which is both possible and necessary."²⁰

Hill does not attempt to discover the method by which translators read Hebrew texts and decided on a rendering, though this is essential to his

¹⁶ Lee, *Lexical Study*, 30, 51.

¹⁷ Silva, *Biblical Words*, 79.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁹ Barr, *Semantics*, 233 (see further 248-49, 263-64).

²⁰ James Barr, "Common Sense," 379.

whole project. He does not consider as a general question how far they concerned themselves for context or for intelligibility.²¹

Barr criticized Hill for not going far enough. Hill should have explored the choice of a Greek word to translate a Hebrew for any (potential) theological significance. In the case of δόξα, it is not enough to say semantic change took place; the choice of δόξα for כבוד could be of great (theological!) importance, and thus merits investigation.

There have been several, sometimes conflicting theories about the choice of δόξα to translate כבוד. In his discussion of δόξα, Deissmann warns against understanding the meaning of a Greek word as mysteriously arising out of the meaning of a Hebrew word. In many cases a Hebrew word was not translated (übersetzt), but simply replaced (ersetzt). Δόξα's correspondence to כבוד does not necessarily imply conceptual equivalences (Begriffsgleichungen), though Deissmann does see כבוד and δόξα as sharing the meaning of *Lichtglanz*. Deissmann offers no further comment on the relationship of the two words, and the reader is left with the impression that δόξα simply "replaced" כבוד.²²

What was implicit in Deissmann's brief discussion became explicit in the detailed analysis of Helmut Kittel.²³ Kittel classifies כבוד's range of meaning under six *Stichwörten* (Ehre, Herrlichkeit, Offenbarungsherrlichkeit, Reichtum, Macht, and Seele).²⁴ Kittel observes that five out of the six meanings of כבוד in the Hebrew Bible are foreign to δόξα in Greek literature; the only point of overlap is "honor" (Ehre). Further, where כבוד denotes "honor," δόξα is always the translating term. According

²¹ Ibid. Cf. Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 332, who writes: "If Barr errs at all--and here we are concerned especially with the LXX--it is in failing to give due weight to the reasons that determined the translators' choice of the particular terms by which they rendered their original. Further, they must have seen in the words of their choice, if not an inherent religious signification, at least a potentiality for being so understood."

²² Deissmann, "Hellenisierung," 166.

²³ Kittel, *Herrlichkeit*, 33-68.

²⁴ Ibid., 60-61.

to Kittel, this overlap provided a/the (necessary) point of contact between כבוד and δόξα and the translators then systematically (schematische) rendered the other senses of כבוד by δόξα. E. F. Harrison arrives at the same conclusion.²⁵ Δόξα and כבוד do not share the same range of meanings--especially at the point of a light phenomenon--with but one exception: כבוד and δόξα share the sense of "honor." Because of this overlap, just a short step was "required to make it [δόξα] a blanket term for rendering other meanings of כבוד that had not belonged to δόξα in its classical Greek setting."²⁶ According to Kittel and Harrison, the translators mechanically used δόξα to cover the meanings of כבוד.

Such a "mechanical" theory of translation runs into problems. כבוד is not always translated by δόξα. Some twenty times כבוד is rendered by something other than δόξα.²⁷ In these cases כבוד is rendered by at least twelve different Greek words.²⁸ Some nineteen different Greek words are used in translating the Hebrew verb, with only about half the verbal forms of כבד matching up with δοξάζω. The adjective of כבד hardly overlaps at all with the adjective ἔνδοξος. Seventeen different Greek words are employed in translating the Hebrew adjective, with ἔνδοξος matching up only once. To approach the problem from the other end yields the same results: not all the occurrences of δόξα correspond to כבוד. In numerous places δόξα translates a Hebrew word other than כבוד.²⁹ In these passages some

²⁵ E. F. Harrison, "Glory," *ISBE*, 2:477-83.

²⁶ Harrison, "Glory," 478.

²⁷ Gen. 49:6; Exod. 28:2, 40; 33:18; Jud. 18:21; 1 Sam. 4:21; Psalms 4:3; 16:9; 66:2; Prov. 26:1; Isa. 5:13; 10:18; 11:10; 14:18; 22:18, 24; 61:6; Ezek. 23:41; 31:18; Nah. 2:10.

²⁸ E. Camilo dos Santos, *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem: Dugith Publishers, n.d. [1973]), 89.

²⁹ Gen. 31:16; Exod. 15:7, 11a; 28:2, 40; 33:16, 19; 34:29, 30a, 35; Num. 12:8; 23:22; 24:8; 27:20; 1 Chron. 16:24; 2 Chron. 2:5; 5:13; Job 37:22; 39:20; 40:10; Psalms 17:15; 21:6; 149:9; Isa. 2:10, 19, 21; 5:16; 6:1; 11:3; 22:22; 24:14, 15; 26:10; 28:5; 30:30; 40:6, 26; 45:25; 46:13; 49:3; 52:1, 13, 14; 53:2; 55:5; 60:7, 9, 19; 61:3; 63:12; 64:11; Jer. 13:18; 23:9; Lam. 2:1, 15; Ezek. 10:22; 38:23.

twenty-four different Hebrew words are rendered by δόξα.³⁰ The translation relationship of כבוד-δόξα is far from "mechanical."

In several writings Christine Mohrmann remarks upon the relationship of כבוד and δόξα.³¹ Like Kittel and Harrison, she disagrees with Deissmann and Schneider that δόξα possessed the meanings of "lumiere, eclata, splendeur" in Greek.³² Also like Kittel and Harrison, Mohrmann understands the process by which δόξα came to translate כבוד as rather mechanical.³³ Her contribution to the discussion lies in two other areas. (1) She argues that כבוד and δόξα also share the sense of "royal splendor, majesty."³⁴ Her arguments at this point are circular since support for this sense of δόξα is Josephus and Philo--both of whom were dependent upon the LXX. (2) Mohrmann observes that in rendering כבוד by δόξα, the translators avoided technical "epiphany" terminology (e.g., ἐπιφάνεια, φαντασία), terminology which would have been much better suited to their purposes. Though the Greek language would have been

³⁰ Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon, 1897-1906), 1:341-43. Forster, "Meaning," 314, notes that in these places the various Hebrew words bear the sense of "strength, wealth, and beauty"--senses which are deficient in the semantic range of δόξα in Greek literature. L. H. Brockington, "The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in ΔΟΞΑ," *VT* 1 (1951): 23-32, demonstrates that the translator(s) of Isaiah-LXX were theologically motivated when they employed δόξα for words other than כבוד. See further, Frederic Raurell, "LXX-IS 26: La 'DOXA' com a Participació en La Vida Escatògica," *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 7 (1982): 57-89.

³¹ Christine Mohrmann, *Epiphania* (Nijmegen/Utrecht: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1953), 6-8; idem, "Note sur doxa," *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung: Festschrift Albert Debrunner* (Bern: Francke, 1954), 321-28; idem, "Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church," *VC* 11 (1957): 11-36.

³² Mohrmann, "Note," 326.

³³ Ibid., 327.

³⁴ Ibid.: "Si vraiment dans la langue profane de l'époque hellénistique doxa a pu s'associer, en relation avec la conception hellénistique de la royauté, à l'idée de 'splendeur, éclat' la base sur laquelle s'appuie l'usage des LXX serait un peu plus large."

resistant to such conceptual innovation,³⁵ the semantic change reflects the translators' desire to differentiate between the revelation of God's כבוד and the manifestations of pagan deities.

Ook de werkwoorden φαίνομαι, ἐπιφαίνομαι, die heel de Griekse oudheid door de typische werkwoorden voor godenverschijningen waren, worden dus niet gebezigd. ... De reden van deze mijding is wel allereerst to zoeken in het afslijten van ἐπιφάνεια in het Hellenistisch religieus denken en taalgebruik: de *Kēbod Jahwe* was anders en meer dan hetgeen door de Hellenistische term kon aangeduid worden.³⁶

The distinction between the language employed to denote revelation of God in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., כבוד יהוה) and the language employed to refer to the appearance of a deity in Greek literature (e.g., ἐπιφάνεια³⁷ and not δόξα) is an important observation which should be explained.

Others have moved beyond the "mechanical" theories presented above. Elpidius Pax examines the way in which δόξα was used in everyday conversation, philosophical discussions (especially Parmenides and Plato) and in religious writings (LXX, New Testament, Philo).³⁸ Pax alleges that for Parmenides "δόξα est opinio fundata in res physicas" which can be perceived through the senses.³⁹ So too in Plato, "δόξα habet vim apparentiae rerum visibilium, quae realitati et essetiae opponitur."⁴⁰ Δόξα as "veritatis et illuminationis et lucis" was thus at home in the field of philosophical-religious signifiers, a fact which explains its use as the translating term for כבוד.⁴¹

³⁵ Mohrmann, "Linguistic Problems," 20, 22; Silva, "Bilingualism," 206-19.

³⁶ Mohrmann, *Epiphania*, 7.

³⁷ Ibid., 3-6; Dieter Bremer, "Die Epiphanie Gottes in den homerischen Hymnen und Platons Gottesbegriff," *ZRGG* 27 (1975): 1-21; B. C. Dietrich, "Divine Epiphanies in Homer," *Numen* 30 (1983): 53-79; Robert M. Grant, *Gods and the One God* (LEC; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 54-56.

³⁸ Elpidius Pax, "Ex Parmenide ad Septuaginta: De notion vocabuil δόξα," *Verbum Domini* 38 (1960): 92-102.

³⁹ Ibid., 95.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 102.

In this context Alan Segal's contention that Parmenides contains a "heavenly journey" takes on special importance.⁴² Parmenides 1:24-32 reads as follows:

"Young man, coming to our abode the companion of immortal charioteers, with the mares which carry you, Welcome! For it is no bad Fate which sent you along this route (though it is far off the beaten track of men) but Rightness and Justice. Now you must learn everything, both the unshaking temper of persuasive Truth and the opinions (δόξας) of mortals, in which there is no true trust. Still, though, you will learn this as well: how the things of opinion should have been in order to be acceptable (...)." ⁴³

Segal chides Leonardo Tarán for overemphasizing the philosophical aspects of the passage. Segal points to the "concreteness" of Parmenides' metaphors (chariots, daughters of the sun, day, night, gates, goddess at the end of a journey, use of "ether" and keys), all of which argue for an "heavenly journey" interpretation. Such a "heavenly journey," especially at the beginning of a work, serves a very specific literary function. Segal writes:

Rather it appears to be a journey to heaven related without reference to an explicit doctrine of the soul. Its literary purpose only points out the strategy underlying almost all heavenly journeys - to guarantee and legitimate that heaven attests to the values which will be propounded in the document.⁴⁴

If Segal is correct, then δόξα occurs in the context of a "heavenly ascent"--a fact which may explain the כבוד-δόξα relationship, since כבוד played a key role in the "throne visions" of Jewish apocalypses.

John S. Hanson's analysis of "dream-vision" reports in the Graeco-Roman World confirms the relationship between δόξα

⁴² Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," 1344-45.

⁴³ Trans. Scott Austin, *Parmenides: Beings, Bounds, and Logic* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1986), 159.

⁴⁴ Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," 1344-45; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 13-14.

and revelatory accounts in Greek literature.⁴⁵ Hanson, summarizing his analysis of Greek literature, δόξα as part of the technical vocabulary associated with "dream-vision" reports.

The dream-vision proper is frequently introduced by the idiomatic expression ἐδόκει/ἔδοξε (μοι). ... [t]he appearance of a form of δοκεῖν in a given account marks the beginning of what is seen and/or heard in the dream-vision. Its extreme technical use may be seen in the many dream-vision descriptions found in Artemidorus and Sristides (Orat. 47-51). ... As a result, ἔδοξε could quite adequately be translated "he dreamed."⁴⁶

The work of Segal and Hanson significantly reinforces the observations of Pax. Not only does δόξα appear in the context of theological-philosophical discussions, but δόξα was part of the technical vocabulary associated with heavenly journeys, dreams and visions. In contrast to כבוד in the Hebrew Bible, δόξα in Parmenides 1 bears only philosophical connotations and clearly does not refer to the δόξα of God.⁴⁷ ἔδοξε only introduces a "dream-vision" report and does not form any constituent part of the vision itself.⁴⁸ Some further explanation for the כבוד-δόξα relationship should be sought.

The most recent explanation is that of F. Decreus.⁴⁹ Decreus laments the attention paid to כבוד יהוה to the neglect of δόξα in Greek literature. He thus furnishes a fresh analysis of δόξα in the Greek literature, paying careful attention to the whole δόξα

⁴⁵ John S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980): 1395-1427.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1409.

⁴⁷ Leonardo Tarán, *Parmenides: A Text with Translation, Commentary and Critical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 202-30; Alexander P. D. Mourelatos, *The Route of Parmenides: A Study of Word, Image and Argument in the Fragments* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1970), 194-221.

⁴⁸ H. S. Versnel, "What Did Ancient Man See When He Saw a God? Some Reflections on Greco-Roman Epiphany," *Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions* (ed. D. van der Plas; Studies in the History of Religions 51; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 43-55.

⁴⁹ F. Decreus, "Doxa-Kabod: Schematische Transposite of struktuurgelijkheid?" *Sacris Erudiri: Jarrboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 22 (1974/1975): 117-85.

word group. Decreus argues that δόξα and כבוד not only share a range of meaning (i.e., "honor"), but the two words possess a structural similarity (struktuurgelijkheid) as well. In other words, both δόξα in classical literature and כבוד in the Hebrew Bible possessed double semantic fields (i.e., subjective and objective scenes).⁵⁰ This structural similarity allowed the LXX translators to choose δόξα as the translating term for כבוד.⁵¹

Though none of the explanations outlined above can singly account for the translation of כבוד by δόξα, when considered together, they make the choice much more plausible. (1) Δόξα translates כבוד because they both can bear the sense of "honor" (and possibly even "royal splendor"). (2) Δόξα translates כבוד because, though not bearing exactly the same meaning, both words appear in the context of philosophical-theological discussions, "heavenly ascents" and "dream-vision" reports. (3) Δόξα translates כבוד because both words possess a structural similarity (i.e., subjective-objective fields of meaning).

Still, none of the explanations presented above can, singly or collectively, account for the significant amount of semantic discontinuity between כבוד and δόξα. Chaim Rabin calls attention to the importance of this discontinuity in relationship to the LXX.⁵² Rabin notes that translators typically "tend to render words mechanically by the receptor-language term on which they hit first."⁵³ Such "verbal linkages" are problematic, as Rabin notes:

One reason why verbal linkage is not a fully satisfactory method of translation, is, of course, that the meaning areas of words and the

⁵⁰ G. B. Caird refers to this objective-subjective phenomenon as the "reflexive" or "bivocal" character of כבוד and δόξα; see Caird, "Semantics," 265-77; idem, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 28-30.

⁵¹ Decreus, "Doxa-Kabod," 175-78.

⁵² Chaim Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *Textus* 6 (1968): 1-26; S. P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *The Witness of Tradition* (ed. P. A. H. de Boer; OTS 17; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 11-36; Emanuel Tov, "Three Dimensions of LXX Words," *RB* 83 (1976): 529-44.

⁵³ Rabin, "Character," 8.

function of areas of grammatical elements do not coincide in any given pair of languages. As a result, the receptor-language word will appear where the receptor language normally has another word, and will be either meaningless or misleading.⁵⁴

Though making allowance for "semantic tolerance" (i.e., the ability to absorb semantic deviation), the arguments presented above still do not answer why δόξα was used as the translating term for כבוד when כבוד clearly referred to Yahweh's (visible, mobile) divine presence. Of the forty-three times where יהוה כבוד appears in the Hebrew Bible, all forty-three are translated by δόξα κυρίου/θεοῦ. Of the thirty-three times when כבוד is used in conjunction with a possessive pronoun when Yahweh is the referent, all thirty-three are translated by δόξα. The discussion which follows will seek to account for the (apparent) semantic deviation in the translators' choice of δόξα for כבוד when כבוד denotes divine presence.

By observing that the LXX translators consciously avoided technical epiphany-language, Mohrmann calls attention to the larger paradigmatic field of δόξα. Behind her observation lies the (unstated) assumption that δόξα somehow relates to technical epiphanic signifiers (e.g., ἐπιφάνεια, φαντασία) and is thus a reasonable choice as a translating term for כבוד.⁵⁵ Decreus, too, borders on the same observation when he discusses the relationship of δόξα to λαμπρότης and ἐπιφάνεια.⁵⁶ Hanson even discusses δόξα as part of the technical vocabulary of Greek "dream-vision" reports.⁵⁷ Mohrmann, Decreus, nor Hanson, however, specifically defines the relationship of δόξα to other

⁵⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁵ Rabin, "Character," 4: "Recoding [i.e., translating] presupposes a predictable relation, however involved, between the structures of the two code systems; when the structures bear no relation whatever to each other, individual items cannot be 'mapped' into the receptor system without losing their place in the structure relative to other items, that is losing their meaning or function."

⁵⁶ Decreus, "Doxa-Kabod," 143-44, 147-48, 150-52. C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1934; reprint, 1974), 209-19, 336-37.

⁵⁷ Hanson, "Dreams and Visions," 1409.

words within its lexical field. The analysis which follows seeks to remedy this deficiency. With the lexicon of Liddel-Scott acting as a control, the semantic field of δόξα can be generated (Tables 2 and Table 3).⁵⁸

TABLE 2
THE SUBJECTIVE SENSE OF ΔΟΞΑ, ΔΟΞΑΖΩ
IN GREEK LITERATURE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
δοκέω	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
δόξα	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
δοξάζω	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
νομίζω	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
τίθημι	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
κρίνω	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
ἡγέομαι	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
τιμάω	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-

A-think (it seems to me), thought

B-expect, expectation; believe, belief/hope

C-purpose; resolve

D-form or hold an opinion, opinion
(philosophical); esteem, hold in honor

E-appears; pretense

F-conjecture; assume, assumption; suppose

G-dream; vision; illusion; imagination

H-decide, decision (voting, judging)

I-estimate, estimation

J-question

⁵⁸ See Liddel, Scott, and Jones, *Lexicon*, for the semantic range of the various words. Discussions of δόξα in Greek literature are abundant with the main lines of interpretation being agreed upon. For documentation of the various senses of δόξα, see H. Kittel, *Herrlichkeit*, 1-31; G. Kittel, "Δόξα," 232-37, 253; Decreus, "Doxa-Kabod," 121-63.

TABLE 3
THE OBJECTIVE SENSE OF ΔΟΞΑ
IN GREEK LITERATURE

	A	B	C	D	E
δόξα	+	+	+	-	-
τιμή	+	+	-	-	-
κλέος	+	-	-	-	-
κῦδος	+	-	-	-	-
λαμπρότης	+	-	+	-	+
φῶς, φαίνω	+	-	+	-	+
μορφή	-	-	+	-	-
ἐπιφάνεια	+	-	+	+	+
φαντασία	-	-	+	+	+

A-reputation, renown, fame, honor, distinction

B-worth

C-illumination, appearance, sensory perception

D-appearance of a god

E-light, fire, celestial phenomenon

Table 2 shows that δόξα/δοξάζω possesses a wide range of subjective signification. Δόξα/δοξάζω participates in a field of words used to refer to internal information and thinking. Most importantly, δόξα, unlike other words in its field, signifies dreams, visions and illusions. Table 3 demonstrates the range of δόξα when used objectively. On the one hand, δόξα forms part of the semantic field of words which speak of reputation, renown, and fame (senses A and B). On the other hand, δόξα is part of the field of signifiers for revelatory information, sensory perception, light terminology, and, most importantly, the appearance of gods (senses C, D, and E).

All too often a sharp distinction has been drawn between δόξα as fame and renown in Greek literature and δόξα as "light" in the LXX. Table 3 shows that δόξα partakes of the same semantic field as "light" terminology and classical Greek "epiphany" language. Because (1) δόξα was already part of the

field of signifiers used for light and the appearances of gods and (2) because δόξα possessed a subjective sense of dreams and visions, the selection of δόξα to translate כבוד as visible, divine presence becomes quite rationally and rhetorically prudent. The translators chose a word, δόξα, which possessed revelatory connotations, which was in the same semantic field as "epiphany" language and light phenomenon, but which avoided all the connotations associated with the manifestation of pagan deities.

Christine Mohrmann is thus only partially correct when she notes that in the Septuagint

the manifestation of God's majesty (the theophanies of the Old Testament) is not rendered by ἐπιφάνεια. The more neutral Greek word δόξα is chosen, a word which, whatever its original meaning may have been, lay in any case outside the sphere of the pagan theophanies.⁵⁹

The translators may well have chosen δόξα over ἐπιφάνεια because they did not want to use a technical term associated with pagan theophanies; but δόξα was not "outside the sphere of the pagan theophanies." Quite the contrary. Δόξα was part of the same semantic field as revelatory words and technical "epiphany" language. In their choice of δόξα to render כבוד, the translators satisfied the criteria of intelligibility while at the same time preserving the particular referential power of the Glory tradition in the Hebrew Bible.

This chapter began by describing the impasse between those who understand the LXX as betraying distinctly Hebraic thought and theology and those who make little or no distinction between the LXX and *Koiné* Greek. The differing perspectives of the Greek of the LXX led to different understandings of כבוד-δόξα relationship. The need for the intelligibility of δόξα to Greek speakers was pitted against the specialized use of כבוד as Yahweh's visible, divine presence.

The application of semantic principles to the problematic כבוד-δόξα relationship has yielded some significant results. First of

⁵⁹ Mohrmann, "Linguistic Problems," 23-24.

all, the כבוד-δόξα relationship can be understood in terms of semantic change. When δόξα translated the technical term יהוד כבוד, the meaning of the Hebrew word altered the semantic range of the Greek word. Semantic analysis also helped elucidate the rationale for the choice of δόξα to translate כבוד. Δόξα was chosen to render כבוד (1) because of an overlap in meaning ("honor"); (2) because both כבוד and δόξα possessed a subjective-objective structural similarity; and (3) because both words were used in similar literary contexts (philosophical-theological discussions, "heavenly ascents," and dream-vision reports). These observations still did not explain the choice of δόξα for כבוד when כבוד bore the sense of (visible, mobile) divine presence.

By sketching the semantic field of δόξα, it was discovered that δόξα formed part of the lexical field of "epiphany" and "light" terminology. The translators likely chose δόξα (instead of employing the technical "epiphany" language) so that the manifestation of pagan deities would not be confused with the revelation of Yahweh. The choice of δόξα to render כבוד thus bears an indirect witness to the development of Glory: In terms of semantics, a semantic change took place when δόξα acquired the technical meanings of כבוד יהוד; in terms of semiotics, a resignification took place through the process of translation; in terms of tradition-history, the LXX translators, by their linguistic choices, preserved the Glory tradition.

Because δόξα began to cover other divine presence terminology in the Hebrew Bible, the translators reinforced and added to the various strands of the Glory tradition--i.e., Sinai,⁶⁰ theophanic,⁶¹ Royal,⁶² and prophetic.⁶³ The translators'

⁶⁰ Exod. 15:1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 21; 33:19; 34:10, 29, 30, 35; Num. 12:8; 23:21, 22; 24:8; 27:20; Deut. 10:21; Isa. 30:30 LXX.

⁶¹ Job 37:22; 39:20; Isa. 2:10, 19, 21 LXX.

⁶² Psa. 17:15; 67:35; 1 Chron. 16:27; 29:25; 2 Chron. 2:5, 8; 3:6; 5:13; Isa. 4:2; 22:22, 25 LXX.

⁶³ Isa. 6:1; 26:10; 28:4, 5; 30:18; 33:17; 40:6, 26; 45:25; 46:13; 48:9; 49:3; 52:1, 13, 14; 53:2; 55:5; 60:7, 9, 19, 21; 61:3; 63:12, 14, 15; 64:3, 11; Lam. 2:1; Ezek. 10:22; 38:23; Micah 5:3 LXX.

choices to render כבוד by δόξα enacted, as will be seen, an unforeseen process of semantic change which can be detected in the New Testament use of δόξα. Δόξα, and its cognates, appear some 227 times in the New Testament.⁶⁴ Scholars generally begin any discussion of δόξα in the New Testament with the observations that "the old meaning 'opinion' has completely disappeared" and that "it is obvious that the NT use of δόξα follows the LXX rather than the Greek."⁶⁵ Statements like these, and many more like them, can now be formulated with more precision. While δόξα in the New Testament continued to relate to the same lexical field of words, the semantic range of δόξα had in fact been altered.⁶⁶ Though explaining much of δόξα in the New Testament, the semantic change enacted by the translation process fails to account for the way in which the New Testament authors, and Paul in particular, connected Christ and δόξα. The answer to that research problem must wait for a detailed analysis of Paul's own testimony.

⁶⁴ Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung und vom Rechenzentrum der Universität Münster, *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 426-32; *Vollständige Konkordanz*, 78-79, 98-99, 264-65.

⁶⁵ Kittel, "Δόξα," 237, 247.

⁶⁶ See Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (2d ed; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 203-204.

PART THREE

THE APOSTLE TO THE GENTILES

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOME SEMANTIC OBSERVATIONS ON GLORY IN PAUL

In his *Lexicon*, Walter Bauer lists four major divisions in the semantic range of the noun δόξα.¹ According to Bauer, the noun can denote (1) "brightness," "splendor" or "radiance"; (2) "magnificence"--as in anything that catches the eyes; (3) "fame," "renown" or "honor"; and (4) an "office." By far, the category with the greatest number of entries is the first--δόξα as "radiance." Bauer further subdivides δόξα as "radiance" into (1) a literal reference to "light," including everything (thought to be) in heaven (e.g., stars, planets, angelic beings, Jesus and, preeminently, God); (2) the state of being in the next life; and (3) a reflection of divine Glory. In his analysis of the verb δοξάζω, Bauer makes two major divisions in the semantic range. The verb can mean (1) "to praise," "honor" or "magnify"; or (2) "to clothe in splendor."

Fueling Bauer's analysis is the notion that the various senses of δόξα-δοξάζω relate to a "core" meaning of "light." The notion of God and Christ's Glory, therefore, arose out of the notion that δόξα denotes "light." Not only does Bauer allow prior etymological decisions to guide his analysis, but the etymological line of development Bauer presupposes, as previously demonstrated in this study, is incorrect. Therefore, in the discussion which follows (1) the occurrences of δόξα-δοξάζω in Paul will be examined without any prior commitments to development, and (2) no attempt will be made to relate the various senses of δόξα-δοξάζω to one another unless warranted by the syntactical data.

¹Bauer, *Lexicon*, 203-205.

In the Pauline corpus, the verb (or a verbal) is used some fifteen times.² The occurrences can be broken down into several syntactic profiles which correlate with a specific denotation. (1) When θεός is the direct object, the verb always means "to worship" or "to praise."³ This construction invokes the sphere of religious praxis and therefore relates to a field of words for liturgical service.⁴ (2) Twice a verb is used to mean "honor" or "magnify."⁵ In contrast to the first collocation, this construction envisions the purely human context of "social status," and therefore relates to a different paradigmatic field.⁶ (3) Paul also uses δοξάζω to denote "multiply" or "grow."⁷ This construction employs neither human or divine subjects or objects and relates to yet another field of words.⁸ (4) The verb can also be used to denote eschatological transformation or state of possessing divine presence.⁹

The passive form of συνδοξάζω in Rom. 8:17 refers to a metamorphosis into Glory and therefore relates the verb to a paradigmatic field of words and constructions for spiritual transformation (e.g., μεταμορφόομαι, Rom. 12:2; 2 Cor.

² Δοξάζω (Rom. 1:21; 8:30; 11:13; 15:6, 9; 1 Cor. 6:20; 12:26; 2 Cor. 3:10a, 10b; 9:13; Gal. 1:24; 2 Thess. 3:1), ἐνδοξάζομαι (2 Thess. 1:10, 12), συνδοξάζω (Rom. 8:17).

³ Rom. 1:21; 15:6, 9; 1 Cor. 6:20; 2 Cor. 9:13; Gal. 1:24. Cf. 2 Thess. 1:12; ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ.

⁴ E.g., λατρεύω (Rom. 1:9, 25; cf. 9:4; 12:1), σεβάζομαι (Rom. 1:25), προσκυνέω (1 Cor. 14:25), φοβέομαι (Col. 3:22), ἐμβατεύω (Col. 2:18), φρονέω (Rom. 14:6). Additionally, there are many other idiomatic collocations which possess the same semantic value: e.g., κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ (Rom. 14:11); καυχᾶσαι ἐν θεῷ (Rom. 2:17; cf. 2:23; 5:2, 3, 11; 1 Cor. 1:29, 31).

⁵ Rom. 11:13; 1 Cor. 12:26.

⁶ E.g., τιμάω (Eph. 6:2; 1 Tim. 5:3), ἐντρέπομαι (1 Cor. 4:14; 2 Thess. 3:14; Tit. 2:8), φρονέω (Rom. 11:20; 12:3, 16; 1 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 1:7), μεγαλύνω (2 Cor. 10:15), περπερεύομαι (1 Cor. 13:4).

⁷ 2 Thess. 3:1: ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου τρέχῃ καὶ δοξάζεται κτλ.

⁸ E.g., αὐξάνω (1 Cor. 3:6, 7; 2 Cor. 9:10; 10:15; Eph. 2:21; 4:15; Col. 1:6, 10; 2:19), προκόπτω (Rom. 13:12; Gal. 1:14; 2 Tim. 2:16; 3:9, 13), πλεονάζω (Rom. 5:20; 6:1; 2 Cor. 4:15; 8:15 [cf. Exod. 16:18]; Phil. 4:17; 1 Thess. 3:12; 2 Thess. 1:3).

⁹ Rom. 8:17, 30; 2 Cor. 3:10a, 10b; 2 Thess. 1:10.

3:18).¹⁰ That Paul could so use the verb is confirmed but a few verses later. In Romans 8:30 it is discovered that the verb is drawn into the paradigmatic orbit of other key salvation terms-- προγινώσκω, προορίζω, καλέω, δικαιώω. Paul's use of the verb in 2 Thess. 1:10 is quite electric. Here the ideas of God's (i) future (ii) self-manifestation are (iii) coordinated with the believer's transformation into Glory. Ενδοζάζω therefore participates simultaneously in the field of signifiers for God's eschatological arrival and salvation-transformational register of language. Finally, Paul in 2 Cor. 3:10 twice employs a verbal to denote the "possession of δόξα." The immediate context identifies this δόξα as a ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης, a δόξα which is not καταργούμενον but which is permanent (μέμον). Again, an eschatological value is assigned to the state of "possessing δόξα."

The noun can be organized into several ranges of meaning. (1) There are many noun constructions where δόξα simply means "praise." The constructions are of two sorts. The first employs εἰς + an accusative form of δόξα + a genitive reference to God (e.g., εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ/θεοῦ).¹¹ The second construction employs the noun δόξα in the nominative case + an understood form of εἰμὶ + an indirect object which refers to God (usually αὐτῷ, ᾧ, θεῷ or πατρὶ) + a reference to time (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας).¹² The noun δόξα therefore participates in a field of words used to denote "praise (of God)."¹³ (2) Two times the noun δόξα denotes "benefit."¹⁴

¹⁰ Cf. J. P. Louw and Eugene Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon* (2 vols; New York: United Bible Societies), 1:745.

¹¹ Rom. 3:7; 15:7; 1 Cor. 10:31; 2 Cor. 4:15; Phil. 1:11; 2:11; cf. Rom. 4:20: δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ.

¹² Rom. 11:36; Rom. 16:27; Gal. 1:5; Eph. 3:21; Phil. 4:20; 1 Tim. 1:17; 2 Tim. 4:18. The second construction is very consistent in its appearance, often occurring in thanksgivings or doxologies (at the end of major sections of a letter or at a letter's end). Such consistency in form and in use suggests that the second construction formed part of a liturgical saying.

¹³ E.g., ἔπαινος (Eph. 1:6, 12, 14; Phil. 1:11), εὐλογητός (Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31; Eph. 1:3). Furthermore, both sets of constructions syntactically parallel δόξα with other words for "praise."

This construction features a verb + εἰς + δόξα in the accusative case with God being the one whom the verb benefits.¹⁵ (3) Like the verb, the noun can also denote "social status" or "honor."¹⁶ (4) Twice δόξα denotes "image" or "representation."¹⁷ (5) Five occurrences of δόξα denote "radiance" or "brightness."¹⁸ (6) Five times δόξα (or its cognate) denotes "boasting" or "pride." Three times the noun occurs with a negative connotation¹⁹ and twice with a positive.²⁰ (7) Three times the δόξα signifies "greatness." This construction features εἰς + the accusative ἔπαινον + the genitive δόξης + a genitive personal pronoun referring to God.²¹

Some forty-two occurrences of the noun δόξα are left for consideration.²² These forty-two occurrences can be subdivided into three registers: (i) occurrences which syntactically relate to

¹⁴ Rom. 9:23; 1 Cor. 2:7.

¹⁵ In both occurrences, the sentence, and especially the verbs in question, invoke the horizon of salvation-history: God "prepared beforehand" (προητοίμασεν) and God "previously marked out" (προώρισεν) his actions and purpose; this was all done "for his benefit" (εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν).

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 4:10; 11:15; 2 Cor. 6:8; cf. 1 Thess. 2:6. Three of the four times δόξα bears this meaning, Paul contrasts δόξα with ἄτιμος in the immediate context.

¹⁷ 2 Cor. 11:7a, 7b. Paul writes that man is the εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ and that ἡ γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστίν. Though both εἰκὼν and δόξα are collocated with θεός, neither collocation signs the "revealed presence of God." This is confirmed by the fact that Paul also collocates δόξα with ἀνὴρ in the same context.

¹⁸ 1 Cor. 15:40, 41a, 41b, 41c, 41d. In four of the occurrences, δόξα stands in a genitive relationship with a word that refers to heavenly bodies in general (ἐπουράνιος) or a specific heavenly body (ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἀστήρ). The fifth occurrence parenthetically comments on the fact that stars differ in their degree of "radiance" (ἐν δόξει). The noun δόξα therefore relates to a group of words for light and brightness.

¹⁹ Gal. 5:26; Phil. 2:3; 3:19.

²⁰ Eph. 3:13; 1 Thess. 2:20.

²¹ Eph. 1:6, 12, 14. The object of praise is not God's "revealed presence," but the "greatness" of his character.

²² Rom. 1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:23; 5:2; 6:4; 8:17, 18, 21, 30; 9:3, 23a; 1 Cor. 2:8; 15:43; 2 Cor. 3:7a, 7b, 8, 9, 10a, 10b, 10c, 18a, 18b, 18c; 4:4, 6, 17; Eph. 1:7; 3:16; Phil. 3:21; 4:19; Col. 1:11, 27a, 27b, 3:4; 1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Thess. 1:9, 10; 2:14; 1 Tim. 1:11; 3:16; 2 Tim. 2:10; Tit. 2:13.

God; (ii) occurrences which syntactically relate to Christ; (iii) occurrences which syntactically relate to humans.²³

The phrase "Glory of God" appears four times.²⁴ Additionally, Paul collocates δόξα with πατρός, with the third person personal pronoun (αὐτοῦ), and the reflexive pronoun (ἐαυτοῦ) one time each.²⁵ These occurrences can be divided into two profiles. The first profile brings Glory into syntactic connection with certain activities performed by God--raising the dead (ἡγέρθη), making himself known (γνωρίξη), and calling (καλοῦτος). The second profile involves human activity: Humanity can exchange (ἥλλαξαν) the Glory of God for an image; humanity falls short (ὑστεροῦνται) of the Glory of God; humanity can boast (καυχώμεθα) in the hope of the Glory of God. Several times Paul refers to a manifestation of divine presence; this denotation typically is signed by genitive or dative construction.²⁶

Twice the Glory of God, or God as the source of Glory, is brought into syntactic relationship with Jesus. In 2 Cor. 4:6 Paul states the knowledge of the Glory of God can be found in the face of Christ (τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ). Paul also declares "that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ" (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ

²³ There does not seem to be any observable syntactical pattern to this profile--Rom. 8:18: δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς; 8:21: τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ; 1 Cor. 15:43: ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ; 2 Cor. 3:7b: διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν καταργουμένην; 3:18: μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν; 4:17: αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν; Col. 3:4: φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ. Cf. Rom. 2:7: τοῖς ... ζητοῦσιν ζωὴν αἰώνιον δόξαν; Rom. 2:10: δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ; 2 Cor. 3:10: ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης.

²⁴ Rom. 1:23; 3:23; 5:2; 2 Cor. 4:6.

²⁵ Rom 6:4; 9:23; 1 Thess. 2:12.

²⁶ 2 Cor. 3:7a: ἐγένθη ἐν δόξῃ; 2 Cor. 3:8, 9: ἡ διακονία ... ἐν δόξῃ; 2 Cor. 3:9: εἰ γὰρ τῇ δακονίᾳ τῆς κατακρίσεως δόξα; 2 Cor. 3:10a: διὰ δόξης, 2 Cor. 3:10b: ἐν δόξῃ; 1 Tim. 3:16: ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ; 2 Tim. 2:10: ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σωτηρίας τύχωσιν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ δόξης αἰωνίου; Tit. 2:13: ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης; cf. Rom. 9:3: ἡ δόξα.

Χριστοῦ, Eph. 1:17a) is the "Father of glory" (ὁ πατήρ τῆς δόξης, Eph. 1:17b).

Though the phrase "Glory of Christ" occurs only once (τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 4:4), Paul does employ other constructions which bear a similar semantic cargo. In 1 Cor. 2:8 Paul outright entitles Christ "the Lord of Glory" (τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης). Several times Paul uses the personal pronoun, where Jesus, not God, is the referent.²⁷ By collocating δόξα with θεοῦ and Χριστοῦ, Paul introduces δόξα into a field of words for divine presence. The semantic range of δόξα can thus be outlined as follows (Table 4).

TABLE 4
THE SEMANTIC RANGE OF ΔΟΞΑ ΔΟΞΑΖΩ IN PAUL

	noun	verb
positive:	praise benefit, advantage honor, status image, representation radiance, brightness boasting, pride greatness divine presence of/from God of/in Christ in/through/to humanity	worship multiply, grow honor, magnify to be transformed eschatologically to possess δόξα
negative:	vain conceit	

²⁷ 2 Cor. 3:18: τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι; Eph. 3:16: τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ; Col. 1:11: τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ; 2 Thess. 1:9: ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ; 2 Thess. 2:14: δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; cf. Phil. 4:19: τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; Col. 1:27a: τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). Jesus is the hope of Glory and is characterized by a Glory (Col. 1:27b: ὁ ἐστὶν Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης; Phil. 3:21: σώματι τῆς δόξης).

Of particular note is the fact that δόξα then becomes one of only sixteen words which can stand in a genitive relationship with both God *and* Christ--or the semantic substitutes for Christ, i.e., the Lord, or the Lord Jesus Christ.²⁸ This field of words then forms the best starting point for understanding the use of δόξα in Paul: Glory relates to a field of words like "spirit," "power," "word," "gospel" and "presence," words which sign the presence of God. The focus of the remainder of this study will be those places in Paul where δόξα-δοξάζω sign divine presence.

²⁸ I.e., δοῦλος, πνεῦμα, ἀγάπη, λόγος, εὐαγγέλιον, ἐκκλησία, νόμος, βῆμα, ἀλήθεια, δύναμις, βασιλεία, εἰρήνη, χάρις, ἔργον, ἐνώπιον and προσώπον.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ORIGIN OF PAUL'S GLORY-CHRISTOLOGY

This investigation seeks to answer how and why Paul came to identify Jesus as Glory. The thesis defended below can be simply stated: the Damascus Christophany is the interpretive "origin" of Paul's δόξα-Christology. That is, the vision of the resurrected and exalted Jesus, the Christophany, was the catalyst for the apostle's designation of Christ as δόξα.

Support for the thesis outlined above hinges upon the establishment of two key points--(1) the definition and significance of the Christophany within narrative world generated by the letters of Paul; and (2) within the interpretive context provided by the tradition-history of Glory, the Damascus Christophany must be shown to be the interpretive catalyst for Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα. Before turning to establishing these two points in several key Christophany texts, it will be helpful to survey the way in which others have understood the Christophany. Such a typological survey will act heuristically and pedagogically for the discussion which follows.

A. APPROACHES TO PAUL'S CHRISTOPHANY

Since the turn of the century, the Damascus Christophany has suffered through some rather lean years in Pauline scholarship. Though the Christophany is often mentioned, the general tendency in scholarship has been to downplay its importance for understanding Paul. One reason for the Christophany's poor hearing is the perception that Paul does not refer to it in his letters. Günther Bornkamm justifies his dismissal of the Christophany because he believes that Paul spoke of his

conversion "surprisingly seldom."¹ Bornkamm sees Galatians 1:11-17 and Philippians 3:2-11 as the only two places where Paul refers to the Christophany, and Paul does so only to defend his "call" to be a preacher of the gospel and never in an attempt to lay claim to a "revelatio specialissima."² If Bornkamm is to be believed, Paul's few references to the Damascus Christophany are contextually determined and have little to do with the content of his gospel or his theology.

Paul refers to the Christophany many more times than is often assumed.³ (1) In 1 Corinthians 9:1 Paul defends his apostolic freedom on the basis of his Christophany. (2) Paul coordinates the Christophany with (other) resurrection appearances in 1 Corinthians 15:3-11. (3) The autobiographical statements of Galatians 1:11-17 and Philippians 3:2-15 highlight the Christophany as the turning point in Paul's religious life. (4) References to the Christophany permeate 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6: the comparison of the old and new covenants--with their representative administrators, Moses and Paul.⁴ (5) In Romans 10:2-4 Paul reads the history of Israel in light of his own conversion experience.⁵ (6) When Paul speaks of the divine "necessity" (ἀνάγκη) to preach the gospel (1 Cor. 9:16-17), the

¹ Günther Bornkamm, *Paul* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1971), 16-25; idem, "The Revelation of Christ to Paul on the Damascus Road and Paul's Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation," *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris* (ed. R. Banks; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 90-103. Beverly R. Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (OBT 20; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 21-36, also restricts Paul's references to the Christophany to Gal. 1 and Phil. 3.

² Bornkamm, *Paul*, 22; cf. idem, "Revelation of Christ," 95.

³ For similar summaries, see Kim, *Origin*, 1-31; James D. G. Dunn, "'A Light to the Gentiles': the Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul," *Glory of Christ*, 251-66; idem, *Romans 1-8* (WBC 38A; Dallas: Word, 1988), xli-xlii.

⁴ Dunn, "Light," 259.

⁵ Ulrich Wilckens, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus als religionsgeschichtliches Problem," *ZTK* (1959): 273-93; Peter Stuhlmacher, "'The End of the Law'. On the Origin and Beginnings of Pauline Theology," *Reconciliation, Law, & Righteousness: Essays in Biblical Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 134-54.

words echo Christ's "seizing" (κατελήμφθην) of him on the Damascus road (Phil. 3:12) or reflect God's "entrusting" (πεπίστευμαι) him with the gospel (1 Cor. 9:17; Col. 1:25; 1 Thess. 2:4). (7) The temporal ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν of 2 Corinthians 5:16 singles out the Christophany as his *crux momentum* of incorporation ἐν Χριστῷ (2 Cor. 5:17a), of becoming καινὴ κτίσις (2 Cor. 5:17b), and of reconciliation (καταλλάξαντος) to God (2 Cor. 5:18, 19, 20). (8) In Ephesians 3:1-13 Paul identifies the Christophany as part of God's οἰκονομίαν to make known the gospel (Eph. 3:2). (9) Paul frequently employs the formula of χάρις+ the aorist passive of δίδωμι or λαμβάνω + μοι to hearken back to the Christophany (Rom 1:5; 15:15; 1 Cor. 3:10; 15:10; Gal. 1:9; Eph 3:2, 7, 8; Col. 1:25). The way Paul refers to the Christophany implies the recipients of Paul's letters already knew the story of his conversion, and the Christophany may well have formed part of the apostle's preaching (1 Cor. 15:3-8).⁶ In short, Paul echoes his Christophany many more times than is often assumed.

Other interpreters simply pass over the Christophany altogether. Richard Reitzenstein, Wilhelm Bousset, Albert Schweitzer, W. D. Davies, and E. P. Sanders fall into this category; they all omit any substantive discussion of the nature and (possible) theological implications of Paul's Christophany.⁷

⁶ Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Herm; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 63, thinks that an account of Paul's Christophany may have even been committed to writing.

⁷ Richard Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*; Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ for the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970); Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (2d ed; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1953); W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (4th ed; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); E. P. Sanders, *Paul*; idem, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). Both Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*, 378-81, and Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 169, 208, collapse Paul's Christophany into the function of a Hellenistic πνευματικός. Twice Schweitzer obliquely mentions the conversion of Paul (*Mysticism*, 181, 328-29); however, both times Schweitzer minimizes its importance--the "conversion" should be interpreted as a "call," and Paul's "self assurance" as an apostle is rooted in his "suffering" rather than "call"

This conspicuous disregard for the Christophany by Reitzenstein, Bousset, Schweitzer, Davies and Sanders reflects a larger trend in Pauline scholarship--namely, to read Paul's life and thought against a presupposed (a) Hellenistic and/or (b) Rabbinic grid.⁸ By laying Paul (solely) against his background functionally drains the Christophany of any formative power which it might have wielded upon Paul's theology.

Those who think that Paul had fixed preconceived views of the Christ already molded by Hellenism, rabbinism, apocalyptic and other sources, must accordingly reduce the significance of the Damascus vision for the

(i.e., Paul is closer to [and thus a better interpreter of?] Jesus than others because he has experienced more of Jesus' "dying," and thus more "spirit"). Sanders completely omits any discussion of the Christophany. To his credit, Davies, *Paul*, 36, 324, observes that Paul's "primary task in life and thought" was to interpret his conversion experience. However, Davies abandons this insight in his attempt to understand Paul. The Christophany's omission by Schweitzer and Sanders is all the more surprising since both authors emphasize the "mystical" (Schweitzer), "spirit-participatory" side of Paul's theology (Sanders' use of "spirit-participation" is a rough equivalent of Schweitzer's "mysticism"; Sanders, *Paul*, 434-35). The omission is bewildering since G. A. Deissmann, *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History* (2d ed; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926), something of a forerunner of the position of Schweitzer and Sanders, expressly linked the Damascus Christophany with Paul's mystical language. Deissmann, *Paul*, 130-31, writes: "What happened at Damascus ought not to be isolated, but it should be regarded as the basal mystical experience of the religious genius to whom also in later life extraordinary and even ecstatic experiences were vouchsafed. All that can be called Paul's Christ-mysticism is the reaction to this initial experience. Damascus is perhaps the clearest example of an initial impulse reacting to mysticism, a mystical initiation arising from a divine initiative." Schweitzer, *Paul and His Interpreters: A Critical History* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1948), 172 n. 1, is highly critical of Deissmann, especially at the point of "explaining the ideas" of Paul. With regard to Deissmann's view of Pauline mysticism, Schweitzer writes that "to Paul's mysticism Deissmann has applied new catchwords to old psychological considerations, but in nowise contributes to the explanation of it." For his part, Sanders, *Paul*, 453, 458, cites Deissmann approvingly, but does not utilize his observations concerning the origin of Paul's spirit-language (see Sanders, *Paul*, 441-42). Though Schweitzer, Davies and Sanders could have fruitfully employed the Christophany to augment their readings of Paul, they simply ignored the question altogether.

⁸ E. Earle Ellis, *Paul and his Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 24-34.

life story of the apostle, and grant relatively little importance to the influence of the teaching of Jesus Himself on his thought.⁹

Paul's δόξα language is thus to be explained by appeals to either Hellenistic and/or Jewish parallels.

Reitzenstein refuses to read Paul's δόξα language against a Jewish background. Instead he cites (supposed) parallels in Egyptian magical papyri which mediated to Paul the conceptual world of Iranian religious speculation.

Wieder haben wir einen im wesentlichen hellenistischen Gedankenzusammenhang, und in ihm scheint mir die eigentümliche Verbindund der Begriffe δόξα und pneuma (vgl. die Worte καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος) zwingend auf eine Mysterienvorstellung zu weisen, die uns klarsten in der alchemistischen Schrift vorliegt.¹⁰

Bousset adopts a similar position: δόξα in Paul reflects syncretic "Hellenistic piety."¹¹ Though admitting Paul has seen the δόξα of God in the face of Jesus Christ, Bousset remarks "Paul portrays his foundational vision of Christ with colors which he has borrowed in part from the language of the mysteries."¹² Under such Hellenistic influence, Paul teaches a process of human deification based on mystical vision (2 Cor. 3:18).¹³ Paul's use of δόξα betrays both a linguistic and conceptual indebtedness to "Hellenism."¹⁴

According to W. D. Davies, Paul inherited his notion of Glory from his Rabbinic training--though not totally uninfluenced by (Jewish) Hellenistic developments (e.g., Philo). The source of Paul's Glory language is traceable to Rabbinic speculation about

⁹ H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 53-54.

¹⁰ Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*, 289-90; 344-46; 355-61 (quoting 358).

¹¹ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 159.

¹² Ibid., 227 n. 68.

¹³ Ibid., 176-77, 227.

¹⁴ Though Glory in the Nag Hammadi texts does function as an analog to Glory in Paul, Gnosticism, like Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism, is dependent upon apocalyptic Jewish construals. Consult Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 1-15; Jarl Fossum, "The New Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: The Quest for Jewish Christology," *SBLSP* 30 (1991): 638-46.

Adam. Adam possessed Glory before the fall and, through his sin, lost this divine Glory. Paul attributes to Christ, the last (end-time) Adam, the characteristics of the former (prelapsarian), first Adam. Paul's Glory language is thus to be explained by Paul's dependence upon Rabbinic speculation about Adam.

By focusing solely upon Paul's background, be it Jewish and/or Hellenistic, one need not (and should not) neglect the formative power of Paul's Christophany. Both Otto Michel and Joachim Jeremias argue for a reflexive relationship between the Christophany and Paul's background.¹⁵ Paul inherited early Jewish traditions teeming with mythological (Son of Man) and messianic implications; without such traditions Paul would have been unable to interpret his Christophany. Without adaptation (*verschmolzen*) to (by?) the historical Jesus, the Christophany would have remained unintelligible for Paul.

But the opposite is also true: without the Damascus event, Paul's (pre-Christian) Jewish-Hellenistic background (and contact with the early Jewish-Christian kerygma) would have remained in need of focus. According to Michel, when the heavenly figure appeared to Paul, drenched in resurrection light, the apostle connected his messianic expectations, the heavenly Son of Man speculation, and the early Jewish-Christian preaching about the historical Jesus. Michel argues that for Paul, though he was steeped in early Jewish traditions (even if in a "hellenized" form), the Christophany became the beginning point for his Christology. Paul's tradition-historical background and his Christophany go hand in hand--at least in theory.¹⁶

¹⁵ Otto Michel, "Die Entstehung der paulinischen Christologie," ZNW 28 (1929): 324-33; Joachim Jeremias, *Der Schlüssel zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus* (Calwer Hefte 115; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1971).

¹⁶ As Jeremias, *Schlüssel*, 27, sums up: "Wir sahen: Das gesamte Glaubensleben des Apostels und seine gesamte Theologie ruhen auf seiner Christsschau vor Damaskus. Nur von hier aus ist er zu verstehen. Seine Theologie ist die Theologie eines plötzlich Berufenen. Nicht Tarsus, nicht Jerusalem, auch nicht Antiochia, sondern Damaskus bietet uns den Schlüssel zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus. Die anderen Faktoren, von denen wir sprachen - hellenistische Kultur, jüdisches Erbe und urchristliche Überlieferung - werden durch diese Erkenntnis nicht entwertet; denn sie

Another theory often advanced concerning the Hellenistic origin of Paul's theology also runs roughshod over the Christophany. Rudolf Bultmann transforms Paul's Christophany into the apostle's decision to "surrender his whole previous self-understanding."¹⁷ Paul made this momentous decision in response to the preaching of early Christians: Paul "was won to the Christian faith by the kerygma of the Hellenistic Church"--with the emphasis falling upon the adjective Hellenistic.¹⁸ The kerygma by which Paul was converted was already "Hellenized." The net effect of Bultmann's transformation of the Christophany is to remove Paul twice over from the preaching of Jesus: between the apostle and the historical Jesus lies the kerygma of the primitive (Jerusalem) Church and the theology of Hellenistic congregations.¹⁹ Separated both chronologically and geographically from the preaching of the early Jerusalem Church (and thus even further from the kerygma of Jesus), Paul, under the influence of a syncretic Hellenistic Church, develops (inherits?) his theology (e.g., his sacramentalism, cosmic/ethical dualism, gnosticism and Christology).²⁰ By fitting Paul's Christology into a larger

wurden in Dienst genommen. Entscheidend blieb jedoch die Stunde, von der der sagt: 'Jesus Christus griff nach mir' (Phil 3,12)."

¹⁷ Rudolf Bultmann, "Paul," *Existence and Faith* (New York: Meridian, 1960), 111-46; idem, *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols; New York: Scribner's, 1954, 1955), 1:187-88. Bultmann's position is reproduced (almost verbatim) by his pupil Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 164.

¹⁸ Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:187.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1:63: "The historical presupposition for Paul's theology is not the kerygma of the oldest Church but that of the Hellenistic Church; it was the latter that mediated the former to Paul. His theology presupposes a certain development of primitive Christianity which it had undergone after the Christian message had crossed the boundaries of Palestinian Judaism, and the congregations of Hellenistic Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, had arisen."

²⁰ Ibid., 1:63-183. Cf. Bornkamm, "Revelation of Christ," 95, who argues that Paul was prepared for his conversion through a (long?) process of conflicts with Christians in Damascus and then carefully instructed after his conversion. Paul's reception of the gospel δι' ἀποκαλύψεως refers to his tutelage by "Spirit-filled charismatics in the gathered congregation at Antioch." With the door to Hellenistic thought opened wide, Bultmann (and

quest to reconstruct the history of early Christianity, Paul could well have derived his Glory theology from Hellenistic sources.

Bultmann's reading of Paul's Christophany can be criticized on two fronts. (1) Is it accurate to describe Paul's Christophany as (merely!) an "Entschluss" in response to early (Hellenistic) proclamation? Certainly Paul's "self-understanding" changed; but transforming the Christophany to a "decision for authentic existence" does not do justice to Paul's own testimony concerning the event.

Das vorchristliche Messiasbild des Paulus und das Bild des geschichtlichen Jesus Christus haben das Damaskuserlebnis vorbereitet, machen aber das Damaskuserlebnis nicht aus. Das, was dort geschehen ist, ist nicht einfach ein Entschluss, nämlich der Entschluss, Jesum Christum als den Messias anzuerkennen, wie es Bultmann ausdrückt. Das genügt nicht. Es ist nicht nur Entschluss, es ist eine Macht, und diese Kraft ist nicht ohne weiteres mit dem himmlischen Messias oder dem geschichtlichen Christus identisch.²¹

(2) Bultmann was not the first interpreter (nor the last) who has attempted to use the Christophany to drive a wedge between Jesus and Paul.²² Bultmann's position stumbles upon the historical framework into which he fits the Christophany.

his students) freely interpolate the work of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule (Reitzenstein and Bousset). For descriptions and critique, see Ellis, *Recent Interpreters*, 28; Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of his Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 32-34; Martin Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish Hellenistic Religion* (London: SCM, 1976); Betz, *Galatians*, 64-65.

²¹ Michel, "Entstehung," 331; H. G. Wood, *NTS* 1 (1954/1955): 276-82.

²² E.g., Wrede, *Paul* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1908), 147-53; Martin Dibelius and Werner Georg Kümmel, *Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953), 52; Bornkamm, "Revelation of Christ," 95; and, most recently, Heikki Räisänen, "Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the Law," *NTS* 33 (1987): 404-19. At this point, Bultmann's position carries on the legacy of F. C. Baur. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Paul and His Theology: A Brief Sketch* (2d ed; Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989), 36-37; Ellis, *Recent Interpreters*, 29; idem, "Dating the New Testament," *NTS* 26 (1979/1980): 487-502; S. G. Wilson, "From Jesus to Paul: The Contours and Consequences of a Debate," *From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honour of Francis Wright Beare* (ed. P. Richardson and J. C. Hurd (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), 1-22.

Focusing on the time period between the death of Jesus and Paul's Christophany exposes the shaky chronological and geographical assumptions fueling the reconstruction of Bultmann.²³

The "amazingly short" period of time between the death of Jesus and the "fully developed Christology" found in Paul's letters (written between 50-57 c.e.) underscores the historical improbability of Bultmann's position. Since the letters presuppose the readers' familiarity with the apostles' Christology, the introduction of Christological titles, formulae, and conceptions must have accompanied Paul's missionary activity. The time for Christological development is pushed back into the 40s--less than twenty years after the death of Jesus. Since "pre-Pauline" Christology, in the strictest sense, can be only that Christology which existed prior to Paul's conversion, another sixteen years must be subtracted. The (supposed) Hellenistic mutation of the early Jewish (Jerusalem) kerygma could only have occurred in an amazingly short period of time--the two-four years after the death of Jesus but before the conversion of Paul.

The "shortage of time" cripples any attempt--however refined--to distance Paul from the/an early Jerusalem kerygma.²⁴ Correlating the conceptual hellenization of the kerygma--rooted in the atomistic analysis of Christological formulae--with the gospel's three- or four-stage geographical transmission founders upon the existence of a mythic "Gentile-Christian" community. A "Gentile-Christian" community (i.e., with *only* Gentile-Christian leaders) at Damascus and/or Antioch between 35 and

²³ Martin Hengel, "Christology and New Testament Chronology: A Problem in the History of Earliest Christianity," *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the History of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 30-47.

²⁴ Cf. the parallel chronological, geographical, and cultural questions--already implicit in the much (ab)used terms "Palestinian" and "Hellenistic"--in R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (New York: Scribner's, 1965). Cf. I. H. Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity: Some Critical Comments," *NTS* 19 (1972/1973): 271-87.

48 c.e. is nothing short of "fiction."²⁵ The explosive Christological development can be explained by the highly charged Jewish apocalyptic traditions. The kerygma which Paul first encountered--the kerygma which caused him to persecute the earliest followers of Jesus--was closely connected with the early Jewish (Jerusalem) proclamation of the "original event" of resurrection (and thus also with the preaching of Jesus). When early (Jewish-) Christian tradition is examined for what Paul could have known in the days before and just after his Christophany, it is discovered that the various construals of the Glory tradition-history could have already converged to interpret Jesus as the divine δόξα.²⁶

²⁵ Hengel, "Christology," 38. The communities at Damascus and Antioch were founded, constituted, and led by Jewish-Christians from Jerusalem. Furthermore, the communities were nourished by the early (Jerusalem) kerygma. Any appeal to the introduction of Hellenistic Christianity (and the Gentile mission) by the Stephen circle reduces the time to an even shorter period of a few months and only confirms the founding of the Damascus/Antioch congregations upon the bedrock of the Jerusalem kerygma. Certainly language differences are to be noted; but the Greek- and Aramaic-speaking communities stood side by side from the earliest days, possessed bilingual members, and shared leaders. The earliest communities in Jerusalem, Caesarea, Damascus and Antioch mutually influenced one another and did not develop independently. Leonhard Goppelt, *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970), 61-67. Cf. Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (2 vols; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1982), 2:86-93.

²⁶ The earliest Christian preaching might well have facilitated Paul's identification of Jesus with Glory traditions--though nailing down the precise character of Christian preaching at such an early date is notoriously difficult. In his birth account, Luke closely associates Jesus with divine δόξα. Cast in the old theophanic pattern (so Claus Westermann, "Alttestamentliche Elemente in Lukas 2,1-20," *Tradition und Glaube: Festschrift für K. G. Kuhn* [ed. G. Jeremias; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971], 317-27 [especially 323-26]), the appearance of the δόξα κυρίου legitimized the angel's news to the (fearful) shepherds concerning the birth of the Davidic Messiah (Luke 2:9); Isaiah 6:3 (LXX) forms the basis of Luke 2:14--when the birth of Jesus is foretold to the disciples, the hosts of heaven spontaneously break into the praise of God (Flusser, "Sanctus und Gloria," 129-52). In Luke 2:32, Simeon's spirit-inspired prophecy defines the mission of the child-Messiah as "a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and the δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ" (cf. Isa. 49:6 LXX); Westermann, "Alttestamentliche Elemente," 324. Luke's account of the transfiguration also employs divine Glory language. Moses and Elijah appeared "in glory"

To argue that Paul was steeped in early Jewish traditions should not rule out the possible impact of the Christophany upon his theology; the two go hand in hand. To claim that the gospel to which (or by which) Paul was converted had already undergone a Hellenized mutation--i.e., to co-opt the Christophany for a defense of Paul as the "second founder of Christianity"--does not square with the chronological and geographical constraints of the development of first-century Christianity. Taken independently, neither the rich and diverse

(ἐν δόξῃ) with the transfigured Jesus (Luke 9:31). E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), 142, argues that two motifs coalesce in this depiction: the revelation of the Son of Man in Daniel 7 and the vision of God on Mount Sinai in Exodus 24; see also, Allison A. Trites, "The Transfiguration in the Theology of Luke: Some Redactional Links," *Glory of Christ*, 71-81; Terence L. Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology* (JSNTSS 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 136-49; Segal, "Heavenly Ascents," 1372-73; Walter L. Liefeld, "Theological Motifs in the Transfiguration Narrative," *New Dimensions*, 162-79. According to Luke, the resurrected Jesus, by appealing to the prophetic word, argues that the crucifixion is a necessary preamble to the Messianic δόξα (i.e., his resurrection). Jesus experienced this at his resurrection. On the road to Emmaus, the resurrected Jesus chides two of his disciples for their failure to perceive the necessity of the Messiah's suffering before entering into his Glory (εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, Luke 24:26). The earliest Christian communities also handed down traditions concerning Jesus' own self-designation as the Son of Man--in particular, the Son of Man who is to come "in glory" and who is to occupy the "throne of glory" (Matt. 16:27 = Mark 8:38 = Luke 9:26; Matt. 19:28; Matt. 24:30; Mark 13:26 = Luke 21:27; and Matt 25:31). These Jesus sayings, which stand squarely in the theophanic, "throne vision" (Dan. 7) and Davidic "promise" (Isa. 11) construals of the tradition-history of Glory, depict a future theophany of δόξα when the heavenly messianic Son of Man will judge the world (G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God*, 256-57; 291-96; and T. Francis Glasson, "Theophany and Parousia," *NTS* 34 [1988]: 259-70; Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, 215-25; Leivestad, *Jesus*, 165-73; cf. Mark 10:37; John Muddiman, "The Glory of Jesus, Mark 10:37," *Glory of Christ*, 52-58). The Son of Man "in glory" Jesus-traditions contain an implicit Son of God Christology which flourished in the post-Easter Church (so Kim, "The Son of Man," 190-91). If Acts 7 is to be trusted at all (Martin Hengel, "Between Jesus and Paul: The 'Hellenists', the 'Seven' and Stephen," *Between Jesus and Paul*, 1-29; idem, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979], 104)--another throne vision tradition betraying the influence of Daniel 7-- then Paul could well have known of the close association (even identification) of Jesus as the heavenly Son of Man with δόξα (Acts 7:55; cf. 1 Thess. 1:9-10).

Jewish heritage of Paul nor the early Christian traditions can fully explain Paul's identification of Christ as $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. The Christophany is the *Entstehung* of (Michel) and/or the *Schlüssel* to (Jeremias) Paul's theology (and thus his Glory-Christology).²⁷

The depreciation of the Christophany alluded to above can be attributed, at least in part, to the mysterious nature of the Christophany. Paul's Christophany has been sometimes depicted as a drastic psychological breakdown resulting from the apostle's (supposed) prolonged struggle with the law (as inferred from Rom. 7).²⁸ Through the cathartic Damascus road experience, Paul found release from the guilt produced from his attempt to satisfy the demands of Pharisaic legalism. The attempts "to psychoanalyze" the conversion have tended to mask any theological implications which the Christophany might have possessed. Scholars lost interest in the theological significance of the Christophany due to their fixation on the "spiritual anguish" of Paul.²⁹

Most psychological interpretations of the Christophany depend, however, on two stereotypical pictures--one of Paul, one of Judaism--which are now widely regarded as inaccurate. Paul is no longer depicted as a guilt-ridden Pharisee who in his pre-Christian days struggled with legalism,³⁰ and first-century

²⁷ Cf. Kim, *Origin*, 102-104.

²⁸ G. J. Inglis, "The Problem of St. Paul's Conversion," *ExpT* 40 (1928/1929): 227-31; Arthur Darby Nock, *St. Paul* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937), 68-69; P. Eduard Pfaff, *Die Bekehrung des H. Paulus in der Exegese des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, 1942), 3-36, 92-94, 142-45; and Béda Rigaux, *The Letters of St. Paul: Modern Studies* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1968), 45-51.

²⁹ Johannes Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM, 1959), 13.

³⁰ By his own testimony Paul possessed a clear conscience and excelled in his life of Judaism (Phil 3:4-7). Rom. 7, the chief cornerstone in a "psychological" interpretation of Paul's Christophany, is no longer seen as reflecting Paul's "pre-conversion" psychological condition; Werner Georg Kümmel, *Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929); Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 78-96. Cf. Robert H. Gundry, "The Moral

Judaism is cast in a far less negative light.³¹ As something of a depleted category, a predominantly psychological approach to the Christophany justifiably finds few adherents today. Despite the shift in Pauline scholarship and the application of newer psychological theories to Paul,³² the older psychological approach to Paul's Christophany nevertheless lives on--chiefly in the form of a "straw man" for other approaches to Paul's Damascus event.

Krister Stendahl is in large measure responsible for eradicating the picture of a guilt-ridden Paul. Stendahl pits a negative, western psychological reading of Paul's "guilt" psyche against a positive assessment of the Christophany as a prophetic "call."³³ Stendahl questions the legitimacy of using the term "conversion" to describe the Christophany. According to Stendahl Paul did not change his religion; the apostle simply received a commission to evangelize the gentiles (i.e., to extend Judaism to the gentiles). The emphasis falls upon the task, not upon a supposed conversion experience. The fact that Paul was and remained a Jew suggests to Stendahl that the term "call" is more apropos. Following Stendahl, J. Christiaan Beker also depreciates the (psychologically understood) Christophany in lieu of Paul's inherited field of apocalyptic symbols. For Beker, the coherence

Frustration of Paul Before His Conversion: Sexual Lust in Romans 7:7-25," *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 70th Birthday* (ed. D. A. Hagner and M. Harris; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 228-45.

³¹ At this point, Pauline scholarship is indebted to E. P. Sanders, *Paul*, for finally eradicating the negative, stereotypical pictures of first-century Pharisees.

³² The more recent attempts at a psychological reading of Paul shy away from the Christophany altogether. E.g., Sidney Tarachow, "St. Paul and Early Christianity: A Psychoanalytic and Historical Study," *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 4 (1955): 223-81; Robert L. Moore, "Pauline Theology and the Return of the Repressed: Depth Psychology and Early Christian Thought," *Zygon* 13 (1978): 158-68; Robin Scroggs, "The Heuristic Value of a Psychoanalytic Model in the Interpretation of Pauline Theology," *Zygon* 13 (1978): 136-57; Lewis R. Rambo, "Current Research on Religious Conversion," *RSR* 8 (1982): 146-59 (especially 158-59); Gerd Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); Segal, *Paul*, 285-300.

³³ Stendahl, "Paul Among Jews and Gentiles," 7-22.

of Paul's theology is found in his belief in the "coming triumph of God" in Jesus. Paul simply employs apocalyptic symbols to apply this coherent truth to contingent situations.³⁴

One wonders if such a wholesale dismissal of the Christophany is not equally suspect. Though uncovering important aspects of Paul's apostolic self-understanding, Stendahl and Beker may well have been too hasty in their negative treatment of the Christophany. Both Stendahl and Beker are at great pains to minimize the discontinuity which the Christophany effects,³⁵ whereas Paul doggedly asserts that he received the gospel (i.e., the content of his preaching) and his "call" through a revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:12-17). Paul's gospel and Paul's mission cohere in his interpretation of the Christophany. How can the revelatory nature of the Christophany be so important for Paul and so unimportant for Stendahl's and Beker's readings of Paul?

³⁴ Beker, *Paul*, 3-19

³⁵ Stendahl's analysis of the Christophany minimizes the discontinuity between Paul and his Jewish heritage and thereby impoverishes any attempt to derive any theology from the Christophany. According to Stendahl, Gal. 1 is the most explicit reference to the Christophany of Paul. Here, alluding to Jer. 1 and Isa. 49, Paul styles himself as the handpicked apostle after the prophetic model. So too in Acts, "call" (rather than "conversion") dominates. Again Jer. 1 and Isa. 49, along with Ezek. 1:28, play a significant role. Stendahl reduces the discontinuity between the pre- and post-"call" Paul to a different view of the law. In fact, Paul's Gentile mission hinges upon a new understanding of the law. Cf., however, Ralph P. Martin, *Reconciliation: A Study of Paul's Theology* (New Foundations Theological Library; Atlanta: John Knox, 1980), 25-31, who severely undermines Stendahl's analysis by pointing to what was *new* in Paul's preaching: Paul did not continue to preach Judaism, but instead preached the gospel of Christ. Paul was not called to be a prophet, but an/the apostle of Jesus Christ. See further, Betz, *Galatians*, 64; Segal, *Paul*, 40, 42. Though Beker, *Paul*, 6, follows Stendahl in understanding that Paul's Christophany is "absorbed by the greater reality of his apostolic calling," when he writes, *Paul*, 7, that the Christophany "documents the Christ-event as the reversal of the ages" he may well be conceding the importance of the Christophany for Paul. Here Beker, despite his attempts to the contrary, points to the Christophany as a/the critical point when Paul's apocalyptic symbolic world was given its Christological center. Boers, "Foundations," 55-68 (especially 58-59) in fact points out, correctly, that the only way in which Beker can save his coherence-contingency model is by locating the coherence of Paul's thought at the deepest level--i.e., in the "Christ-event."

Though something of a minority report, scholars such as Otto Michel, H. A. A. Kennedy, J. Gresham Machen, P. H. Menoud, Margaret Thrall, Joachim Jeremias, and Peter Stuhlmacher have all pressed the case for deriving some part, if not all, of Paul's theology from his Christophany.³⁶ Seyoon Kim and Alan F. Segal have provided the two most recent attempts to revalue Paul's conversion for theology.

Kim argues that the "origin" of Paul's gospel, i.e., his theology, can be traced to the Damascus Christophany. Kim seeks to defend this thesis by establishing four key points (among many others). (1) Kim argues Paul's Christophany, his "vision of Christ," consisted in an "objective," proleptic vision of the exalted Lord. (2) Kim demonstrates the intimate connection between the Christophany and Paul's preaching of the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον, Gal. 1:6, 7, 11; 1 Cor. 15:1) as a divine mystery (μυστήριον, 1 Cor. 2:1, 7; Eph. 3:3; Col. 1:25, 27) and revelation (ἀποκάλυψις, Rom. 1:17; Gal. 1:12, 16; Eph. 3:5). (3) Kim then argues the Christophany was loaded with Christological content. The Christophany confirmed the early Jewish (Jerusalem) preaching about Jesus of Nazareth (with which he was undoubtedly familiar). Paul's Christophanic vision of the Exalted One at the right hand of God (2 Sam. 7; Psalms 2; 110) convinced him that Jesus of Nazareth was the

³⁶ Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), 80-95; idem, *The Theology of the Epistles* (Studies in Theology; London: Duckworth, 1919), 68-96; J. Gresham Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), 58-68; Michel, "Entstehung," 324-33; P. H. Menoud, "Revelation and Tradition: The Influence of Paul's Conversion on his Theology," *Int* 7 (1953): 131-41; Margaret Thrall, "The Origin of Pauline Christology," *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday* (ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 304-16; Joachim Jeremias, "The Key to Pauline Theology," *ExpT* 76 (1964): 27-30; idem, *Schlüssel*; and Stuhlmacher, "The End of the Law," 134-54; Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus als Ursprung seiner Theologie* (WMANT 58 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener, 1985). These authors argue that from the Christophany Paul derived his participatory language, new creation theology, his perspectives on the redemptive act of God in Jesus, grace, predestination, election, sin, hope, law and his own apostolic self-understanding.

Messiah (2 Cor. 4:4-6; 5:16-21; Gal. 1:12; Eph. 3:1-13; Phil. 3:3-11), Lord (1 Cor. 9:1; 2 Cor. 3:16-18; 4:5; 10:8; 13:10; Phil. 3:8), and Son of God (Gal. 1:16). The Christophany led Paul to his understanding of the pre-existence of Jesus, Christ's mediation of creation, and the sending and giving up of the Son. Most importantly, Paul's εἰκὼν-Christology is directly traceable to the Christophany. Depending on a form-critical analysis of theophanies, prophetic calls and the long, well-established tradition-history of Ezekiel 1:28, Kim argues that the one seen in a theophany is the bearer of the divine εἰκὼν (2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4; Col. 1:15) and μορφή (Phil. 2:6-7). Paul's Wisdom-Christology and his (last) Adam Christology are direct consequences of his Christophanic identification of Jesus as the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ (Rom. 5:12-21; 2 Cor 5:16-21). (4) Finally, Kim explores the soteriological implications of Paul's Damascus-derived Christology. According to Kim, key Pauline ideas of justification, reconciliation, sonship, transformation and new creation are all traceable to the Christophany.

James D. G. Dunn wonders if Kim has not packed too much (i.e., Paul's full-blown Christology all conceived in the moment of Christophany) into too little (i.e., a few allusive verses which do not describe the Christophany but only its impact).³⁷ Though he may well have mis-read Kim at certain points (i.e., Kim does maintain some development in Paul's thinking), Dunn's points are well taken. Allowance must be made for development in Paul (or at least Paul's formulation of specific, historically contingent, "words-on-target"). Dunn points to a second problem with Kim's research. In his form-critical and tradition-historical work on "throne-theophanies," Kim compiles a

³⁷ Dunn, "Light," 259. Specifically Dunn wonders whether anything can really be known about the Christophany, since all Paul leaves in his letters is the "impact" of the Christophany. When Paul in 2 Cor. 4-6 refers to the Christophany as "a generalized description of Christian conversion ... he cannot be thinking particularly of the features which distinguished his conversion from those which follow." Despite his criticism of Kim's attempt to speak of the Christophany itself (and not of Paul's interpretation of it), Dunn does think Paul saw something. Based on 2 Cor. 4-6, Dunn affirms that Paul saw "Christ 'clothed in glory'" (!).

composite picture of theophanic visions. Here Dunn correctly insists that Kim should not have merged "different elements from different visions" in a manner that reminds Dunn of the now (in)famous pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer myth. Finally, Kim all too easily assumes he can recover what Paul actually saw. The Christophany and Paul's interpretation of the Christophany are two different questions. Whereas the apostle gives few details of the former, his letters do betray his interpretation of the event.

The most detailed and provocative reading of Paul's Christophany has been provided by Alan F. Segal in his recent work *Paul the Convert*.³⁸ In direct contrast to Stendahl and Beker, Segal rehabilitates the word "conversion" and its impact upon the apostle's life and thought. Departing from traditional paradigms, Segal argues that Paul ought to be connected with what preceded him: Paul should be understood against the grid of Jewish mystical-apocalypticism. The pervasive and continual influence of Ezekiel 1, Yahweh's man-like appearance of כבוד, forms the most immediate background for understanding Paul's conversion. Though such heavenly experiences seem improbable to the modern mind, Segal argues that Paul describes his conversion by use of mystical-apocalyptic language (e.g., "form," "image," "light"/"darkness," "glory" and "being in Christ"): the chief angel of God, God's man-like כבוד, appeared to Paul, and Paul through mystical ecstasy was transformed into the image of the resurrected Christ. Paul now offers this process of transformation for all who believe in Christ.

Segal also reappraises what it means to belong to a community, particularly a Pauline Christian one, in the first century. By defining conversion as a change in community, Segal avails himself of modern sociological research in his analysis of Paul.³⁹ Sociological research shows that a highly

³⁸ For a more detailed response to Segal, see Carey C. Newman, "Transforming Images of Paul," *EvQ* (forthcoming).

³⁹ Note must also be taken of four recent attempts to read Paul's Christophany in terms of sociological theories of "conversion." J. C.

committed convert learns to interpret his/her transformational experiences from the community over a long period of time. Thus, for Paul, conversion is a change in community which is expressed in spiritual, transformation language, language which he learned from the community he joined.

There are, however, three possibilities as to how Paul learned to interpret his conversion: (1) Paul learned to interpret Jesus as the exalted Lord before the experience, and the Christophany only confirmed what Paul already knew; (2) in and through the experience itself, it was revealed to Paul that Jesus is the exalted Lord; and (3) Paul had an experience and only later did he learn its interpretation. Segal, though claiming no practical solution to this quandary, opts for the third choice: Paul learned over time

Gager, "Some Notes on Paul's Conversion," *NTS* 27 (1980/1981): 697-704, cautiously speaks of the Christophany as a "reversal or transvaluation of values." Paul's religious goal remained the same (i.e., his focus upon righteousness and justification) but the path changed (Christ substituted for law). Gager also notes specific points of Paul's theology which are derived from the Christophany. Beverly R. Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 17-40, also uses "transformational" language in her understanding of Paul's Christophany. Unlike Gager, Gaventa completely ignores any "content" implications; ἀποκαλύψεως in Gal. 1:12, 16, simply refers to "total eschatological inbreaking." Certainly Paul's Christophany entailed a "value transformation." But only by so over-generalizing Paul's claims to have received the content of his preaching (εὐαγγέλιον) through revelation can support be found for reducing the Christophany to simply a "cognitive shift." Paula Fredricksen, "Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions and the Retrospective Self," *JTS* 37 (1986): 3-34; idem, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1988), 54-56, 158-59, argues that the construction of a "conversion narrative" has more to say about the present (i.e., the time in which the narrative was constructed) than about the past (i.e., when the conversion might have occurred). Fredricksen's treatment of Paul suffers on three counts: (1) by such a synchronic reading, she neglects the tradition-historical context which would have encouraged the immediate "content filled" reflection; (2) she assumes that Paul refers to his Christophany only in Gal. 1 and 1 Cor. 15, thereby impoverishing any attempt to derive interpretive implications from his Christophany; and (3) Fredricksen fails to perceive that the Christophany as the "end"-narrative event has as much to do with "beginnings" as any contextual situation. Cf. Carey C. Newman, "Christophany as a Sense of 'The End,'" *MOSIAC* (forthcoming).

the significance of the Christophany from the community to which he joined himself.⁴⁰

Segal's position expressly contradicts Paul's own assertions about his conversion. In Galatians 1:12 Paul states emphatically that he did not learn the gospel from a man but received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ. Paul's emphatic claims to revelatory independence, reinforced by the technical terms for reception of tradition (παρέλαβον, ἐδιδάχθην), roots his gospel, the preaching of Jesus as Christ and Lord, in his experience. This argues strongly for (1) or (2), but certainly not (3).⁴¹ If Paul learned to interpret his Christophany from the community, as Segal suggests, just how did Paul come to join a Christian community in the first place? Did Paul have an experience and wander about looking for someone to help him interpret it? Why not join another Jewish community which cherished mystical-apocalyptic traditions? Why Christianity? Is it likely that Paul, the confessed persecutor of the church, would have joined a Christian community unless *before* his joining he was convinced that Jesus was the figure of Glory on the throne? For one predisposed to mystical-apocalyptic traditions (as Segal so skillfully shows Paul was), what need would there be for education? Paul's conversion experience could have wielded a powerful pedagogical value: on the basis of the Christophany, Paul discovered that Jesus was the כבוד, the exalted Lord. By juxtaposing mystical transformation and communal change, Segal confuses Paul's theologically pregnant Christophany with a *consequence* of conversion, his change in community.

To sum up: scholars have appropriated Paul's Christophany in very different ways. The options include (1) denying Paul's letters contain numerous and/or significant references to the Christophany (Bornkamm); (2) ignoring the Christophany in lieu of Hellenistic (Reitzenstein, Bousset) or Rabbinic backgrounds

⁴⁰ Segal, *Paul*, 320 n. 64.

⁴¹ Betz, *Galatians*, 65; Beker, *Paul*, 46, 122-23. It is most unfortunate that Segal did not address himself to Gal. 1:12 in any substantive way; see the cryptic comments, *Paul*, 36, 159, 161.

(Davies, Sanders); (3) transforming the Christophany into a decision for "authentic existence" (Bultmann, Conzelmann); (4) reducing the Christophany to a commission to extend Judaism to the gentiles (Stendahl, Beker); (5) revaluing the Christophany for psychological and/or sociological insights into Paul's community life (Segal); and (6) plundering the Christophany as a content-filled religious experience which serves as a catalyst for Paul's theology (Michel, Jeremias, Stuhlmacher, Kim).

The survey of approaches does offer a way forward. (1) Paul refers to the Christophany many more times than is often assumed. (2) Paul should not be drowned in the undertow of background studies: Paul's background goes hand-in-hand with the Christophany. Paul did not "borrow" or "adopt" from his background, but interpreted his Christophany in the lingua franca of mystical-apocalyptic Judaism. (3) The Christophany should not be transformed to mean simply Paul's "decision" for authentic existence. Besides contradicting Paul's own testimony, truncating the Christophany to mean "a response" to an already Hellenized gospel founders upon the chronological and geographical constraints of early Christian history. (4) Understanding Paul's Christophany as only a prophetic "call" minimizes the discontinuity which the Christophany effected in Paul's missionary preaching. The Christophany transformed Paul's convictional world--Paul preached Jesus as Lord (=Yahweh), not a brand of Pharisaic Judaism.⁴² (5) Though avoiding the abuses of older psychological theory, the application of sociological methods to Paul's Christophany fails to account for the *rationale* for Paul's restructured symbolic world: just why did Paul give up Judaism, adopt an alternative convictional world, join a new community, and zealously seek to incorporate others into this community? (6) Harvesting the Christophany for a "full-blown" theology of Paul often confuses the (unrecoverable) event with its interpretation and functionally ignores any development in Paul.

⁴² Patte, *Paul's Faith*, 87-101.

B. GLORY AS A "SIGN" OF CHRISTOPHANY

The diversity of approaches to Paul's Christophany embraced by scholars not only reflects different ways of reading Paul, but graphically portrays the enigmatic character of the Christophany itself. By integrating literary theory with more traditional forms of exegesis, the discussion which follows seeks to investigate how the Christophany "signs" within the Pauline corpus. Emphasizing the Christophany as a "sign" with "signifying" potential moves away from investigation of the historical "event" and moves toward unearthing the paradigmatic relationships which the Christophany possesses with other "signs" in the Pauline letters. Through such a semiotic reading of the Christophany the normal black holes and cul-de-sacs of misunderstanding associated with this area of Pauline study can be avoided and, it is hoped, the "significance" of a powerful "sign" can be uncovered.

The discussion begins with two necessary caveats. (1) It must be admitted that Paul never uses the word "Christophany." Paul does, however, employ a wide range of technical constructions to refer to his Christophany. Such technical constructions include the following: "having seen Jesus as Lord" (οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα, 1 Cor. 9:1); "he appeared to me" (ὥφθη κάμοι, 1 Cor. 15:8); "to reveal his Son in/to me" (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ, Gal. 1:16; cf. Eph. 3:5); "[a revelation of] the covenant in Glory" (ἡ διακονία ... ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ, 2 Cor. 3:8, 9; cf. 3:18; 4:4, 6); "a revelation of Jesus Christ" (ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Gal. 1:12); "knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord" (γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου, Phil. 3:8); "receive mercy" (ἡλεήθημεν, 2 Cor. 4:1; cf. 1 Tim. 1:13, 16); "receive authority" (ἐξουσίας ... ἔδωκεν, 2 Cor. 10:8; 13:10); "received/given grace" (ἐλάβομεν χάριν/χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν, Rom. 1:5, 15:15; 1 Cor. 3:10; 15:10; Gal. 1:9; Eph. 3:2, 7, 8; Col. 1:25; cf. 1 Tim. 1:14); "sent to preach" (ἀπέστειλén με Χριστὸς ... εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, 1 Cor. 1:17); "entrusted [with a stewardship/the Gospel]" (πεπίστευμαι, 1 Cor. 9:17; Col.

1:25; 1 Thess. 2:4). Paul employs these semantic units to refer to the Christophany.

(2) A second caveat concerns the narrative power latent within the Pauline corpus. Traditionally, Paul's letters, in terms of both form and function, have been construed against the grid of Greco-Roman epistles, epistles which relate to highly specific and contingent social contexts.⁴³ Recent interpreters have, however, accentuated the narrative worlds which both inform and depend upon Paul's letter. There are at least four such narrative worlds. (i) Beneath Paul's letters lies a "story," a "narrative substructure." It is this "story" which Paul applies to specific and highly contingent situations.⁴⁴ (ii) Paul had a narrative about himself, his autobiography. Paul told and re-told his own life "story" for apologetic and/or ethical reasons.⁴⁵ (iii) The letters evoke a narrative of continual conflict and reconciliation, misunderstanding and instruction, rebellion and correction between Paul and his churches. The relationship among Paul, the letters (the literary substitute for his apostolic presence) and the churches evinces essential narrative features of causality and time.⁴⁶ (iv) Paul's theology was shaped in conversation with the story of Israel. The narrative which Paul preached and applied can only be understood against the narrative horizon generated by the Jewish scriptures. Paul's story is part of a larger story.⁴⁷ Given that his letters, though

⁴³ David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (LEC 8; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 183-225; William G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), 21-48.

⁴⁴ Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11* (SBLDS 56; Chico: Scholars, 1983); idem, "Crucified with Christ: A Synthesis of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians," *SBLSP* 27 (1988): 318-35; Leander E. Keck, *Paul and His Letters* (Proclamation Commentaries; 2d ed; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

⁴⁵ George Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography: Toward a New Understanding* (SBLDS 73; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985); Béde Rigaux, *Letters of St. Paul*, 122-23; Jack T. Sanders, "Paul's 'Autobiographical' Statements in Galatians 1-2," *JBL* 85 (1966): 335-43.

⁴⁶ Norman Petersen, *Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 43-88.

rightfully classified as epistles, do evoke such narrative worlds, it is my contention that the Christophany is an important "sign" within Paul's narrative worlds. The Christophany wields such power because, for Paul, the Christophany is a revelation of the end-of-time, resurrection presence of God--his δόξα.

1. 1 Corinthians 9:1-2 and 15:1-11

1 Corinthians 9 and 15 are good places to begin in attempting to assess the "value" of the Christophany. 1 Corinthians 9:1-2 exposes how the Christophany behaves in the letters of Paul.

Am I not free (ἐλεύθερος)?

Am I not an apostle (ἀπόστολος)?

Have I not seen (έώρακα) Jesus our Lord?

If to others I am not an apostle, at least I am to you;
for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord.

The warrant for Paul's defense of his behavior (9:3-23) resides in his "freedom" and "apostleship." In turn, the warrant for this apostolic freedom resides in the Christophany. Έώρακα allows a brief glimpse into Paul's convictional world at work, a world where "seeing Jesus" is a primary "sign," conferring upon him ἐλεύθερος and ἀπόστολος. Unfortunately the *immediate* context does not further appraise the value of έώρακα.⁴⁷

Paul's use of όράω in 1 Corinthians 15 affords a richer opportunity to determine the value of a Christophany. Here Paul employs (adopts) the aorist passive instead of the perfect.

⁴⁷ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁴⁸ Some interpreters emphasize the subjective and informational character of Paul's έώρακα while denying any objective and visionary aspect: e.g., Michaelis, "'Όράω,'" 355-60; Willi Marxsen, *The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970), 98-111. Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Herm; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 152, argues that the subjectivity lies in the nature of Paul's argument in 1 Cor. 9 (i.e., appeal to personal experience) and not in the subjectivity of the vision. See further, Kim, *Origin*, 3, 7-8, 29, 31, 55 n. 1; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 395 n. 14, notes that the unusual "Jesus our Lord" is semi-technical for Christ in his (bodily) resurrection existence.

Now I would remind you, brethren, in what terms I preached to you the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον), which you received, in which you stand, by which you are saved, if you hold it fast--unless you believed in vain. For I delivered to you as of first importance that Christ died (ἀπέθανεν) for our sins in accordance with the scriptures (κατὰ τὰς γραφάς), that he was buried (ἐτάφη), that he was raised (ἐγήγερται) on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared (ὤφθη) to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared (ὤφθη) to more than five hundred at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared (ὤφθη) to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as one untimely born, he appeared (ὤφθη καί μοί) to me. For I am least of all the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace toward me was not in vain. On the contrary, I worked harder than any of them, though it was not I, but the grace of God within me. Whether then it was I or they, so we preach and so you believed (1 Cor. 15:1-11).

Paul's arguments about resurrection which follow (15:12-58) depend upon his conviction that Jesus has been resurrected (and thus started the process of general resurrection which all believers experience through their faith⁴⁹), a conviction which is part of his system of convictions (his "faith," his "gospel") summarized in verses 1-11.⁵⁰ The key events of this narrative, as summarized vv. 3-11, include the death (ἀπέθανεν), burial (ἐτάφη), resurrection (ἐγήγερται) and appearances (ὤφθη) of Jesus as (re-)read against the Jewish scriptures.

A key element in Paul's convictional world, the "appearance" (ὤφθη) formula vv. 5, 6, 7 and 8 participates in the warranting basis for Paul's arguments about resurrection in the rest of 1 Corinthians 15. Moreover, though clearly Jesus is the chief protagonist of the gospel, his appearance to Paul envelops the apostle and writes his life into the emplotment of the foundational story. (1) ὤφθη καί μοι narratologically binds Paul's private Christophany to the traditional Easter appearances and imbues Paul's apostolic life with enormous signifying power--Paul's apostolic mission is a constitutive part of the

⁴⁹ Patte, *Paul's Faith*, 222-31.

⁵⁰ Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 27.

gospel. (2) ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, however, provides a sense of closure to the catalog of appearances: Paul's ὥφθη is somehow the last in a series of (unique?) appearances. (3) Paul recognizes a sense of disjunctiveness between his Christophany and the other resurrection appearances of Jesus. Though the precise referential horizon remains something of an enigma, ὡςπερὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι of v. 8b evokes a series to which Paul is added--but only awkwardly, thus pointing to the singularity of his Christophany and the nature of his apostolic ministry (vv. 9b-10).⁵¹ The very fact that Paul can so easily meld his convictions into his own autobiography (or vice versa) demonstrates Paul's homologation of convictions and Christophany.⁵² The net effect of Paul's personal involvement in the foundational story is to situate his Christophany against two narrative horizons--that of gospel tradition handed down to and by him (παρελάβετε, v. 1; παρέλαβον, v. 3) and that generated by the Jewish scriptures (κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, vv. 3, 4). Both textual fields work to define Christophany as a revelation of resurrection δόξα.

The most immediate grid against which Paul intertextually defines Christophany is that of the early Christian tradition about the death and resurrection of Jesus. The confessional material imbedded within the Gospels and letters refers to other resurrection appearances by ὥφθη (Luke 24:34).⁵³ The Gospels also connect the eschatological manifestation of the Son of Man with Glory (ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς [Mark 8:38; Matt. 16:28; cf. Luke 9:26: δόξῃ αὐτοῦ]; καὶ τότε ὄψονται

⁵¹ G. E. W. Nickelsburg, "An Ektroma, Though Appointed from the Womb: Paul's Apostolic Self-Description in 1 Corinthians 15 and Galatians 1," *HTR* 79 (1986): 198-205.

⁵² Hays, "Crucified with Christ," 326, calls Paul's autobiographical comments (in Galatians and Philippians) "subplots." I, however, rather think that the syntax of Paul's thinking wove the appearance of Jesus to him, his Christophany, into the very fabric of his belief system.

⁵³ On the confessional nature of Luke 24:34 and its tradition-historical connections to 1 Cor. 15, see H.-W. Bartsch, "Inhalt und Funktion des Urchristlichen Osterglaubens," *ANRW* II.25.1 (1982): 794-890 (= *NTS* 26 [1979/1980]: 180-96).

τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης [Mark 13:26; Matt. 24:30; Luke 21:27]) and the eschatological enthronement of the Son of Man as exaltation to Glory (Δὸς ἡμῖν ἵνα εἰς σοὺ ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἰς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου [Mark 10:37]; ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης [Matt. 19:28]). Early confessional and hymnic fragments in the New Testament also closely connect resurrection and δόξα (Heb. 1:1-4; 1 Tim. 3:16; 1 Peter 1:21).⁵⁴ The appeal to the

⁵⁴ The Letter to the Hebrews opens with a confessional fragment (Heb. 1:1-4) to which an assortment of scriptural quotations are added (Heb. 1:5-14). The combination of fragment, quotation and commentary seeks to prove the superiority of the "Son" through whom God has chosen to manifest himself in the last days. By linking overtly Royal texts--Psa. 2:7, 2 Sam. 7:14, Psa. 45:6-7, 102:7 and 110:1--the text establishes the "Son" as the Davidic Messiah [Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 77-79]. The "Son," says the author, "reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature" (ὅς ὢν ἀπαυγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, Heb. 1:3a). The confession correlates the Son's appointment (ἔθηκεν, v. 2) and enthronement (ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ, v. 3) as clear references to the resurrection as exaltation--the time at which the Son was "crowned with glory and honor" (δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας, Heb. 2:7 = Psa. 8:5). Because of his "suffering death" (τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου) the "Son" is "crowned with glory" and in turn leads "many sons to glory" (πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα, Heb. 2:9, 10). The fragment imbedded within Hebrews interprets Jesus' resurrection-exaltation as δόξα (F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964], 38-40; Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 88-89). The confession/hymn which Paul approvingly quotes in 1 Tim. 3:16 also depends on the Davidic Messiah tradition; Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959), 223; Ferdinand Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (New York: World, 1969), 247; Vernon H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions* (NTTS 5; Grand Rapids/Leiden: Eerdmans/Brill, 1963), 50-51; Duling, "Promises," 73. Similar to the hymns of Phil. 2:5-11 and 1 Pet. 3:18-19, Jesus is depicted as

Ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ὥφθη ἀγγέλοις,
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

tradition paradigmatically links his ὥφθη to other resurrection appearances thereby transfusing the significance latent within the other appearances to his own ὥφθη. Invoking the (then still verifiable) Easter story (1) assigns an eschatological value to ὥφθη, and (2) inter-traditionally defines Christophany as a bodily⁵⁵ appearance of the resurrected Jesus (akin to the appearances to Cephas, James and the rest) characterized by δόξα.

The Jewish scriptures form the second narrative horizon into which Paul is inserted by his Christophany. As has been demonstrated in Parts 1 and 2 of this present study, Glory is a technical term to refer to God's visible, mobile divine presence. 1 Corinthians 15, however, is even more specific. Numerous times in the LXX ὥφθη is employed to refer to God's appearances.⁵⁶

καὶ ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραμ (Gen. 12:7);

No matter into what form one divides the various strophes of the confession/hymn (see Robert H. Gundry, "The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in 1 Timothy 3:16," *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday* [ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970], 203-22), the final strophe, "taken up in glory" (ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ) can refer only to Jesus' resurrection as a heavenly enthronement (so Reinhard Deichgräber, *Gottes hymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit: Untersuchungen zu Form, Sprache und Stil der frühchristlichen Hymnen* [SUNT 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967], 136 [especially n. 2]; Jack T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background* [SNTSMS 15; Cambridge: University Press, 1971], 17-18, 94; Duling, "Promises," 74). Jesus' resurrection-exaltation is then characterized by eschatological δόξα.

⁵⁵ Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (2d ed; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1916), 340; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 142; Peter J. Kearney, "He Appeared to 500 Brothers (1 Cor. XV 6)," *NovT* 22 (1980): 265-84; James A. Tabor, *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts* (Studies in Judaism; Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 20; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 732.

⁵⁶ Bartsch, "Osterglaubens," 794-890; Schlier, "Doxa," 45-56; A. R. C. Leane, "Theophany, Resurrection and History," *SE* 5 = *TU* 103 (1968): 101-13.

καὶ ὤφθη αὐτῷ (Ἰσαακ) κύριος (Gen. 26:24);
 ὤφθη δὲ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακωβ ἔτι ἐν Λουζα (Gen. 35:9);
 Ὁ θεὸς μου ὤφθη μοι ἐν Λουζα (Gen. 48:3);
 Ἐγὼ κύριος καὶ ὤφθην πρὸς Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ
 (Exod. 6:3);
 ὤφθη κύριος τῷ Δαυιδ (2 Chron. 3:1);
 καὶ ὤφθη κύριος τῷ Σαλωμων (1 Kgs. 3:5 = 2 Chron. 1:7);
 καὶ ὤφθη κύριος τῷ Σαλωμων δεύτερον (1 Kgs. 9:2 = 2 Chron.
 7:12; cf. 1 Kgs. 11:9).⁵⁷

In several cases ἡ δόξα κυρίου is the subject of the aorist passive ὤφθη + the dative:

ἡ δόξα κυρίου ὤφθη (Exod. 16:10);
 ὤφθη ἡ δόξα κυρίου παντὶ τῷ λαῷ (Lev. 9:23);
 ἡ δόξα κυρίου ὤφθη ... πᾶσι τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ (Num. 14:10);
 ὤφθη ἡ δόξα κυρίου πάσῃ τῇ συναγωγῇ (Num. 16:19);
 ὤφθη ἡ δόξα κυρίου (Num 17:7 LXX [16:42 RSV]);
 ὤφθη ἡ δόξα κυρίου πρὸς αὐτούς⁵⁸ (Num. 20:6).⁵⁹

These two sets of passages refer to three (historical) epochs of revelation: (1) the appearances of God to the Patriarchs--Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; (2) the appearances of God in the wilderness wanderings; and (3) the appearances of God during the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy.⁶⁰

Ὁράω in the future tense consistently invokes the promise of God's eschatological self-manifestation.⁶¹ Again many of these passages refer to God's promised, eschatological appearance as the revelation of his δόξα:

⁵⁷ Cf. Gen 31:13; 35:1; Exod 3:2, 16; 4:1, 5; 2 Kgs. 22:11; Jer. 38:3; Dan. 8:1.

⁵⁸ Πρὸς αὐτούς is the semantic equivalent of the dative αὐτοῖς.

⁵⁹ Exod. 16:7 and Lev. 9:6, where the promised ὤφθη of ἡ δόξα κυρίου occurs within the immediate narrative context; 1 Enoch 39:4, 6, 10; 40:1; 52:9; 69:29; 4 Ezra 7:33; 13:32; 1 Enoch 100:4.

⁶⁰ Bartsch argues that by employing ὤφθη in this technical way the translators consciously restrict God's saving activity to these historical epochs (reflecting the translators' own pessimism about the possibility of God's appearing in their own historical circumstances).

⁶¹ Passages such as Psa. 101:17; Isa. 40:5; 49:7; 52:8; 10, 60:2; 66:14, 18; Ezek. 39:21; Joel 3:1; Micah 7:9, 15, 16; Hab. 3:10; Zech. 9:5; 10:7; Mal. 1:5 and 3:18 confirm this.

ὅτι οἰκοδομήσει κύριος τὴν Ζιων καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἐν τῇ δόξῃ
αὐτοῦ (Psa. 101:17 LXX [RSV 102:16]);
καὶ ὁ λαός μου ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν κυρίου (Isa. 35:2);
καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου, καὶ πᾶσα ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ
σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ (Isa. 40:5-6);
ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σέ ὀφθήσεται (Isa. 60:2);
καὶ ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν μου ... ἐωράκασιν τὴν δόξαν μου (Isa.
66:18-19).⁶²

Such passages paint a horizon filled with δόξα. On "that day" God will fulfill his promises to his people and will again appear, just as he did in the days of the Patriarchs, the wilderness wanderings, and during the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy. The day of eschatological salvation and transformation will be inaugurated by an appearance of Glory.

By taking κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς seriously, the occurrence of ὥφθη in 1 Corinthians 15 (1) situates the appearance of Jesus to Paul within the narrative sequence of God's earthly visitations of Glory, (2) confirms the promises for a revelation of eschatological Glory have been proleptically inaugurated in Jesus,⁶³ and (3) narratively defines Paul's private Christophany as a revelation of ἡ δόξα κυρίου. The complex web of analeptic and proleptic associations positively reverberating from the use of ὥφθη intertextually identifies Jesus as ἡ δόξα κυρίου. In the resurrection of Jesus, echoing the appearances of God's Glory in the past, the future promises of God are presently being fulfilled: God's Glory has appeared, proleptically inaugurating the eschatological age of blessing.

That Paul's salvation-historical *gezera shava* carries with it such intertextual baggage is supported by two points. (1) Stephen, in his speech of Acts 7, interprets the revelation of God to Abraham as a revelation of Glory (Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὥφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, v. 2). The immediate subtext for Stephen's claim does not employ δόξα; Genesis 12:7 LXX simply states that ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραμ. Stephen's

⁶² Cf. Ezek. 39:21, where δώσω δόξαν parallels ὄψονται κρίσιν; cf. Adam and Eve 18:5; 3 Bar. 6:12; 7:2; 11:2.

⁶³ Bartsch, "Osterglaubens," 835.

theological gloss demonstrates that Christianity outside of Paul considered that any appearance of God could be legitimately construed to be an appearance of δόξα. (2) Paul himself refers to the long, cherished tradition of God's visitations as appearances of δόξα. In Romans 9:4-5 Paul catalogs the benefits of his Jewish heritage:

οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται,
 ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία
 καὶ ἡ δόξα
 καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι
 καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία
 καὶ ἡ λατερία
 καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι,
 ὧν οἱ πατέρες,
 καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ τὸ σάρκα.

The absolute form ἡ δόξα is unusual and Paul may have been guided either by stylistic concerns, or he may have had *Psa. 24:7-10 LXX* in mind.⁶⁴ Since, however, the *Qumran Sabbath Songs* (4Q405 20 ii 21-22 line 7) employ the absolute "the Glory" (הַכְבוֹד) to refer to a vision of God⁶⁵ and since a distinguishing feature of Israel's heritage consisted in Yahweh's repeated self-manifestations to his people, Paul is here generically referring to any theophany of God as a revelation of δόξα. By placing ἡ δόξα into a litany of salvation-historical markers (sonship, covenants, giving of the law, worship, promises, Patriarchs, the messiah), Paul invokes the same narrative horizon found in 1 Corinthians 15:3-11.

Paul's specific and contingent arguments later in 1 Corinthians 15 also confirm such intertextual suspicions. The two questions introduced in v. 35--how are the dead raised? with what kind of body?--govern the surface discussion to v. 48. Paul introduces

⁶⁴ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 533-34.

⁶⁵ Could it be that Paul, like the the writer(s) of the *Sabbath Songs*, employs δόξα in the absolute not only to denote the tradition-history of God's revelation in theophanies, but also to connote the revelation of "the Glory," i.e., that special, proto-messianic angel, the man-like כְּבוֹד יְהוָה of *Ezek. 1:28*?

an agricultural metaphor to demonstrate that death is always a necessary prelude to life (v. 36). Within the death/life transition a dramatic transformation occurs: life will be in a different σῶμα (v. 37), though the kind of σῶμα is dependent on God's own choosing (v. 38), as the diversity of nature reveals (vv. 39-41): the flesh (σάρξ) of men differs from that of animals, birds and fish, just as heavenly (ἐπουράνια) and terrestrial bodies (σώματα ἐπίγεια) differ in δόξα; the δόξα of the sun differs from that of the δόξα moon, and star differs from star ἐν δόξῃ (cf. Psalms 8).⁶⁶

In vv. 42-44 Paul then harvests his agricultural metaphor to address the two questions raised in v. 35. The body is sown subject to the powers⁶⁷ of decay (ἐν φθορᾷ), while the resurrection body is characterized by its eschatological⁶⁸ permanence (αφθαρσία); the body is sown in dishonor (ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ), but is raised in/by eschatological Glory (ἐν δόξῃ; cf. Rom. 6:4); the body is sown in weakness (ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ), but when raised, invested with eschatological empowerment (ἐν δυνάμει); the body is sown physical (ψυχικόν), but raised spiritual (πνευματικόν). Though each of the antitheses characterizes a new "sphere" of existence, the idea of instrumentality is not far away. How are the dead raised?--by being overwhelmed and transferred (and thus transformed) to a new canopy of influence, one characterized by eschatological permanence, Glory and power.

With what kind of body will one be raised?--one that has undergone transformation, and this transformation is certain: if there be a σῶμα ψυχικόν there will also necessarily be a σῶμα πνευματικόν (v. 44). Paul bases his argument on a first Adam, second Adam typology (v. 45), which not only assures the

⁶⁶ Glory here simply means "brightness" or "radiance."

⁶⁷ C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (H/BNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 372.

⁶⁸ Andrew T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology* (SNTSMS 43; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 39-40.

certainty of resurrection but also the proper salvation-historical sequencing (v. 46)--first the ψυχικόν and then the πνευματικόν. But careful not to dissolve the ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ into the figure of the first, Paul quickly strikes a note of dissimilarity: the first man is ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, the second ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (v. 47). Thus all who share solidarity with the first Adam will also share his fate (v. 48), while all who now share with the last Adam φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου (v. 49).

The paradigmatic figurations preserved in the syntax of the surface argument in vv. 35-48 reveal some powerful juxtapositions:

ἀποθάνη	ζωοποιούν
σώματα ἐπίγεια	σώματα ἐπουράνια
σπείρεται	ἐγείρεται
ἐν φθορᾷ	ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ
ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ	ἐν δόξῃ
ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ	ἐν δυνάμει
σῶμα ψυχικόν	σῶμα πνευματικόν
ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ	ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ
εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν	εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν
ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός	ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ	εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου

Δόξα is thus brought into paradigmatic linkage with powers of spiritual transformation, of resurrection existence and, most importantly, the figures of the eschatological Ἀδὰμ and εἰκόνα. While the conviction that Jesus conquered death by resurrection explains the binary opposition, interpreting resurrection as a revelation of Glory explains paradigmatic use of δόξα as eschatological transformation. The surface argument also informs about δόξα. The proleptic ἀπαρχή (vv. 20, 23) of a general resurrection, Jesus' resurrection occurs in the form of an imperishable, heavenly σῶμα πνευματικόν⁶⁹ (15:44),

⁶⁹ H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), 184-94; idem, *Last Things*, 251-61, 299-307; S. H. Hooke, *The Resurrection of Christ as History and Experience* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1967), 55-57; Geffery B. Kelly, "He

characterized by δόξα and δυνάμει. Interpreted as a proleptic revelation of final, eschatological δόξα, the Christophany disclosed to Paul the mystery (v. 51) of future transformation, and thus serves as the warranting basis for his arguments about resurrection.

To summarize the argument thus far: (1) the Christophany is an important warranting basis in Paul's argumentation about his notions of apostolic freedom and resurrection. (2) The Christophany wields such power because it signs the resurrection--a key element in Paul's convictional system (i.e., his gospel story). (3) The Christophany imbedded Paul's life (i) within the narrative generated by the Jewish scriptures and (ii) within the Jesus story itself, thereby bringing Christophany and convictions into a paradigmatic relationship. (4) In the use of ὥφθη Paul intertextually defines Christophany as a revelation of eschatological Glory--akin to the great revelations of Glory in Israel's history, and a proleptic fulfillment of the future, end-of-time revelation of Glory. (5) Paul's interpretation of Jesus' resurrection appearance to him as a revelation of final, eschatological δόξα occurs at the convictional level.

2. *Galatians 1:11-17*

There can be little doubt that the Christophany, as a signifier, configured much about Paul, as a signified. In and through the Christophany, Paul received his "authority" (ἐξουσία) to engage in ministry.⁷⁰ In and through the Christophany, God appointed (τίθημι)⁷¹ Paul to the office of "apostle" (ἀπόστολος),⁷² "minister" (διάκονος) and "servant" (δοῦλος).⁷³ Paul argues

Appeared to Me': 1 Cor 15:8 as Paul's Religious Experience of the 'End Time,' *Critical History and Biblical Faith: New Testament Perspectives* (ed. T. J. Ryan; Villanova: College Theology Society, Villanova University, 1979), 108-35.

⁷⁰ 2 Cor. 10:8; 13:10; 1 Cor. 3:17-19.

⁷¹ 1 Tim. 2:7; cf. 1 Tim. 1:12.

⁷² Rom. 1:1, 5; 1 Cor. 1:1; 9:1; 15:9; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; 3:5; Col. 1:1; 1 Tim. 2:7.

⁷³ 2 Cor. 3:6; 4:1, 5; Eph. 3:7; Col. 2:25; 1 Tim. 1:12.

that his own apostolic "worthiness" (ἱκανός)⁷⁴ and freedom (ἐλεύθερος) are derived from the Christophany. In and through the Christophany, God commissioned Paul's prophetic mission to the nations (ἐθνῆσιν).⁷⁵ In and through the Christophany God "entrusted" (πιστεύω) Paul with the stewardship of the divine plan (οἰκονομία),⁷⁶ the mystery (μυστήριον)⁷⁷ hidden from ages past, the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) which Paul preaches. The Christophany, as signifier, determined much about Paul, the signified. The issue at hand, however, is the way in which Christophany, as signifier, determined "subject" positions in Paul's letters and allows a view into the convictional world of Paul.

The story of Paul's relationship with the Galatian church further illustrates the semiotic power inherent in the Christophany. The narrative world generated by Galatians indicates the conflagration of conflicting systems of convictions (those of Paul, the Galatians and of various brands of "Judaizers")--all of which revolve around "conversions" (past, present and hoped-for).⁷⁸ Another system of convictions was threatening to displace the convictional system (i.e., the gospel) Paul had preached and the Galatians had accepted--such a displacement Paul could not tolerate.

For I would have you know, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not man's gospel. For I did not receive it from man nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ. For you have heard of my former life in Judaism, how I persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it; and I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers. But when he who had set me apart before I was born and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles ... (Gal. 1:11-16).

⁷⁴ 1 Cor. 15:9; 2 Cor. 3:5, 6.

⁷⁵ Rom 1:5b; 15:15b; 1 Cor. 1:17; Gal. 1:16; 2:8a; 2:9b; Eph. 3:1, 2, 8-9; Col. 1:15; 1 Tim. 1:16; 2:17.

⁷⁶ 1 Cor. 9:17; Eph. 3:2; Col. 1:25.

⁷⁷ Eph. 3:4.

⁷⁸ Patte, *Paul's Faith*, 42-48.

The Galatian letter echoes a primal scene in which Paul preached the gospel and the Galatians gladly received and believed his message. In the next scene, "trouble makers" (ταράσσοντες, 1:7, 5:10; ἀναστατοῦντες, 5:12) arrive and instigate something of a defection from Paul's preaching. Through the preaching of a "different gospel" (ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, 1:6), the "trouble makers" subvert Paul's gospel and thus his apostolic control. In the third scene, that of the writer of the letter, Paul counters the "trouble makers" by means of repetition--repetition of (1) the event by which he first received his gospel and commission, i.e., his Christophany, and (2) the events by which the Galatian community was first constituted, i.e., the preaching of the (authentic) gospel and their conversion.

In Galatians 1 Paul retraces the steps leading to his own revelatory independence. The gospel which he preaches was not "a man's gospel" (κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, v. 11); neither did he "receive it from a man" (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό, v. 12a); nor was Paul taught it (οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, v. 12b). Paul's gospel came through an apocalypse of Jesus Christ (δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, v. 12c). Δι' ἀποκαλύψεως should be construed as a genitive of means, referring to the method by which Paul received his gospel and therefore the antithesis to the other (inappropriate) revelatory events (παρέλαβον, ἐδιδάχθην). As a revelatory event, δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is a homologation for εὐαγγέλιον of verse 11.

This ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (left undefined for the moment) enacted a series of dramatic convictional re-valuations. Paul, by birth, was "in possession of" Judaism (τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, v. 13)--a construction with double signifying force. Judaism's possession of Paul and Paul's possession of Judaism empowered his life: he excelled onward and upward (προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, v. 14), and he

persecuted those who compromised Jewish monotheism (ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 13). The signifier for Paul's former life was the "traditions of the fathers" (τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων, v. 14). Despite such a grip on his life, Judaism gave way "when" (ὅτε δὲ, 1:15) Paul fell into the possession of the Christophany (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, v. 16a). The Christophany re-configured his relationship to traditional Judaism and the emplotment of his life. In the possession of Judaism, Paul had "automatically" persecuted Christianity--because it was not Judaism. In the possession of the Christophany, Paul necessarily stood over against traditional Jewish construals--because they were not Christianity--and unleashed a powerful re-appraisal of "the nations," those who stood outside the boundaries of traditional Judaism (ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, v. 16a).

Moreover, the Christophany, as a sign, determined Paul's relationship to those "in Jerusalem" (1:18-2:21). The "trouble makers'" attempts to wrest the reins of control away from Paul rested (apparently) upon the power of Judaism in general and the Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem in particular. The "trouble makers'" position was at one and the same time a denial of Paul's authority and a repudiation of his re-construing of Jewish tradition. Through illegitimate claims, the "trouble makers" sought to divert the proper path of the signifying chain enacted by Paul's Christophany. Paul's possession of the Christophany determined Paul's response and conferred upon him the voice of authority.

The true "subject," therefore, in the narrative world of relationships generated by Galatians is not the apostle himself; the true "subject" is the Christophany, the ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (= ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, v. 16a). The possession (or non-possession) of the Christophany re-configured the relationships. The Christophany enacted a series of profound relational transformations, a series of re-valuations and re-assignments. The Christophany as a signifier determined

the "subject" positions of Paul, his congregations and his opponents. Attention may now be turned to the way in which the two phrases, δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ, function as encoded signs for mystical and prophetic visions of Glory.

The exact interpretation of δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ has been much debated. The discussion has typically revolved around Christophany as a subjective, internal hallucination, simply a "product of the human soul" or as an objective, external event in which Paul (actually) "saw" Jesus.⁷⁹ The genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ can be construed objectively (i.e., a revelation consisting in Jesus Christ) or subjectively (i.e., revelation from Jesus Christ). Based on the LXX and early Jewish literature either or both are equally possible. In the LXX and early Jewish literature, ἀποκάλυψις can be used as a technical term to refer to theophanies, heavenly visions and

⁷⁹ Wrede, *Paul*, 7 n. 1, speaks of the Christophany as a "product of the human soul" without any objective content. As opposed to earlier psychological approaches, Wrede is concerned with the nature of the vision. According to Wrede, Paul envisioned a "spiritual," "immaterial" body, "a body which the outer sense cannot perceive." The perceptual process and the content of the vision go hand in hand--both are subjective. See, more recently, Howard C. Kee, "The Conversion of Paul: Confrontation or Interiority?" *The Other Side of God: A Polarity in World Religions* (ed. P. L. Berger; Garden City: Anchor/Doubleday, 1981), 48-60 (especially 55). Others claim that the Christophany was not a hallucination, an epileptic seizure or a magical appearance of Jesus; it was instead a real, objective, visual sighting of the resurrected Jesus; see J. Gresham Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), 58-68; L. Cerfaux, *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul* (London: Herder and Herder, 1959), 6-8, 71-72, 83-84, 441, 451, 475, 523; Schoeps, *Paul*, 55; F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (2d ed; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 113-25. Others have tried to combine both the internal and external elements; see Walenty Prokulski, "The Conversion of St. Paul," *CBQ* 19 (1957): 467; Ernest Best, "The Revelation to Evangelize the Gentiles," *JTS* 35 (1984): 16. James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975), 95-134, notes that although the vision was internal and subjective, it was nonetheless "real" for Paul. Dunn, however, fails to press out what the implications of the Christophany are for Paul's thought.

dreams; ἀποκάλυψις can also refer to received information or knowledge.⁸⁰

The same objective and subjective distinctions can be found in Paul. Paul employs ἀποκάλυψις to denote the event of Jesus' parousia (Rom. 2:5; 8:19; 1 Cor. 1:17; 2 Thess. 1:7). Paul also employs ἀποκάλυψις to denote non-visionary, content revelation (Rom 16:25; 1 Cor. 14:6; Eph. 1:17). Paul combines visionary-event and information-reception by linking the gospel, as a disclosure of the hitherto unrevealed mystery of the end-time, with the visible events of Jesus' cross/resurrection (Eph. 3:3). Arguably the referential horizon of ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Galatians 1 signs both objective and subjective connotations:⁸¹ (1) δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ refers to the proleptic resurrection appearance of Jesus--comparable to both the Easter and the (anticipated) parousia; and (2) the ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ constitutes the material content of Paul's gospel (his preaching).

Often overlooked, Paul's use of δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ also places the Christophany squarely within the heavenly ascents and throne visions of Jewish apocalypses. But can Paul's Christophany be legitimately construed as a throne vision--especially since Paul fails to give an account of his heavenly journey? In attempting to access the connections between Paul's interpretation of his Christophany and the throne visions of early Jewish apocalypses, there may yet be an even more fundamental question: does Paul give any evidence at all of having had a throne vision of any kind?

2 Corinthians 12 records Paul's otherworldly journey into paradise, demonstrating his ties with mystical praxis of first-

⁸⁰ On the objective side, see Stuhlmacher, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit*, 81; idem, *Das paulinische Evangelium: I. Vorgeschichte* (FRLANT 95; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 76-80; Kim, *Origin*, 71-72; on the subjective side, see Michaelis, "'Ὁράω,'" 355-60; Rowland, *Open*, 376-79; Dieter Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden* (WMANT 16; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1965), 39-40, 73-75.

⁸¹ Peter Stuhlmacher, "The Pauline Gospel," *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 1989), 153 n. 14 (following Georg Strecker).

century Jewish apocalypticism.⁸² But Paul's ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου were not isolated occurrences, for on the basis of the "abundance" (ὑπερβολῇ) of these sorts of visionary ascents (ἀποκαλύψεων) Paul contracted a God-given "thorn"--in order to keep him humble (v. 7). Paul's appropriation of the language of Jewish mysticism--e.g., εἰκὼν (Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 15:49; 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4; Col. 1:15), μορφή (Phil. 2:6, 7), μεταμορφόομαι (2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 12:2; Phil. 3:10, 20-21)--further demonstrates his active participation in first-century Jewish mysticism.⁸³ As 2 Corinthians 12 and his language lead one to believe, Paul was a practicing first-century mystagogue.

To Paul the Christophany and his heavenly ascents could well be similar sorts of experiences. A favorable comparison between Galatians 1 and 2 Corinthians 12 finds support in (1) Paul's use of ἀποκάλυψις to describe both events (Gal. 1:12; 2 Cor. 12:1, 7), (2) the parallel genitive construction emphasizing revelatory dependency and content (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ of Gal 1:12 = κυρίου of 2 Cor. 12:1), and (3) though Galatians 1 and 2 Corinthians 12 fail to describe in detail the substance of the vision, both affirm that some sort of mystery was revealed--εὐαγγέλιον (v. 11) in Galatians 1, ἄρρητα ῥήματα (v. 4) in 2 Corinthians 12. Though certainly not depicting the *same* event, Galatians 1 and 2 Corinthians 12 could reflect the same *kind* of ecstatic experience--at least in Paul's interpretation.⁸⁴ As a

⁸² Munck, *Paul*, 31-32; Otto Betz, "Die Vision des Paulus im Tempel von Jerusalem: Apg 22, 17-21 als Beitrag zur Deutung des Damaskuerlebnisses," *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. O. Böcher and K. Haacker; Wuppertal: Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus, 1970), 113-23; J. W. Bowker, "'Merkabah' Visions and the Visions of Paul," *JSS* 16 (1971): 157-73; Lincoln, *Paradise*, 71-86; Rowland, *Open*, 374-86; William Baird, "Visions, Revelation, and Ministry: Reflections on 2 Cor 12:1-5 and Gal 1:11-17," *JBL* 104 (1985): 651-62; Tabor, *Unutterable*, 113-28; Segal, *Paul*, 34-71.

⁸³ Kim, *Origin*, 205-55.

⁸⁴ Baird, "Visions," 651-62, seeks to undermine a favorable comparison between Gal. 1 and 2 Cor. 12. Not only do these two passages relate to two different events in Paul's life, the two passages employ language which refers to two different kinds of events. After subjecting both Galatians 1 and 2 Cor. 12 to a generic comparison, Baird discovers elements of a prophetic "call" in Gal. 1, while in 2 Corinthians 12 Baird finds elements of "heavenly

"Jewish apocalyptic-mystagogue of the first century" Paul experienced "heavenly travel, where he sees the secrets of the universe revealed. ... [he] sees his salvation to lie in a body to body identification with his heavenly savior, who sits on the divine throne and functions as God's glorious manifestation."⁸⁵

If Paul's Christophany bore any resemblance to a throne vision--akin to the throne visions of early Jewish apocalypses--then it would be but a short step for him, based on his Christophany, to identify his vision of the resurrected Jesus as the special, proto-messianic figure who shares in and is defined by God's Glory--Ezekiel's man-like כבוד יהוה. As was discovered, Glory figures prominently in the otherworldly throne visions of early Jewish literature. When a seer travels into the heavens and is permitted to peer into the very throne room of God, he sees the anthropomorphically shaped Glory of God and/or a special angelic figure who is oftentimes defined by Glory. On the basis of his Christophany, Paul's baptismal experience into Christ-mysticism, Paul interpreted the resurrection of Jesus as a revelation of God's Glory.

To sum up the connotative implications rippling from Paul's use of the phrase δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ to describe his Christophany: (1) The genitive construction signs both a revelatory event and the reception of (eschatological) information. (2) Specifically, in Paul's interpretation, the revelatory event consisted in a proleptic resurrection appearance of Jesus which formed the basis for Paul's faith. (3) The interpretive use of ἀποκάλυψις places Paul's Christophany squarely within the throne vision tradition of Jewish

journey." Baird argues that Paul did not equate the (non-repeatable?) Christophany with his later, repeated mystic praxis. But even if the Christophany does not possess *gattungsgeschichtliche* ties with early Jewish throne visions (as will be argued below) nor with the heavenly journey of 2 Cor. 12, there is still an important question to be asked: does Paul's Christophany bear any *traditionsgeschichtliche* connections with early Jewish "throne visions"--say, the identification of Christ as the special, proto-messianic angel who is defined by כבוד-δόξα? This is indeed to ask a different sort of question.

⁸⁵ Segal, *Paul*, 35.

apocalypses, and (4) as 2 Corinthians 12 demonstrates, Paul was an active participant in first-century Jewish mysticism. (5) In light of the long-established throne vision trajectory stemming from Ezekiel 1:28, the likening of Christophany to heavenly ascent could well have facilitated Paul's interpretation of Jesus' resurrection appearance as δόξα. (6) Confirmation of this last point must wait for the discussion which follows in the next chapter, for the use of τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης (1 Cor. 2:8), a technical title used for God or his divine agent in a throne vision, bears out the convictional identification of Jesus as δόξα.

This phrase confirms much of what has already been discovered: (1) ἀποκαλύψαι defines the Christophany as a revelatory event. (2) The Christophany mediated to Paul the identity of Jesus as exalted Lord, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. (3) The Christophany was an ecstatic event: it occurred ἐν ἐμοὶ.⁸⁶

The signifying volume of ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ increases because of the intertextual linkages between Galatians 1:16-17 and the prophetic call narratives of the Jewish Bible. Galatians 1 contains many *formsgeschichtliche* features of the prophetic call genre--a divine confrontation (vv. 12, 16a), an introductory word (v. 15), a commission (v. 16b), an objection (v. 13), reassurance (v. 5) and sign (vv. 11-12, 16). Though not strictly structured as a prophetic call, Galatians 1:11-17 "echoes the main themes of the prophetic call narrative."⁸⁷ The no doubt intentional mimesis of the genre evinces Paul's reading of his Christophany as a prophetic call.

Such a reading by Paul is plausible, coherent and relevant.⁸⁸ By allusively invoking the prophetic call tradition, Paul seeks to parlay the legitimizing power inherent in the genre to establish

⁸⁶ Betz, *Galatians*, 64: "Paul does not explain the relationship between this revelation of Christ in him and the gospel message which he was ordered by Christ to proclaim. At this point, one should be careful not to create artificial problems. ... Ample evidence from the religious literature shows that visionary experience and verbal revelation do not exclude each other."

⁸⁷ Baird, "Visions," 657.

⁸⁸ Hays, *Echoes*, 29-32.

his authority, message (i.e., his convictional system) and ministry as over against the authority of the (false) apostles disturbing the Galatian congregation. Just as the prophets of old legitimized their prophetic word by appeals to commissioning experiences at the hand of the living God, so too Paul appeals to his Christophany to justify his apostolic ministry, and thus his preaching. Furthermore, Paul's reading of Christophany as call is only natural; in light of the long tradition stemming from Ezekiel 1, he would have readily understood the Christophany through the matrix of the great prophetic call passages of his Bible.

Three strong intertextual connections identify Isaiah 49 as the specific subtext of Galatians 1--though the echoes ripple throughout other parts of the Jewish scriptures as well.⁸⁹ Ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ of Galatians 1:15 echoes ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου of Isaiah 49:1b LXX.⁹⁰ Ἴνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν of Galatians 1:16b reflects Isaiah 49:6b LXX: εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.⁹¹ But Galatians 1:16 contains still another heretofore unrecognized allusion to Isaiah 49. The problematic ἀποκαλύψαι ... ἐν ἐμοὶ

⁸⁹ On the relationship of Isa. 49 to the prophetic "call" tradition, see Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55* (BZAW 141; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976), 69-71; and on Paul's use of Isa. 49, see Kim, *Origin*, 90-97.

⁹⁰ Cf. Jer. 1:5 LXX. Paul is typically understood as referring to either Isa. 49:1 or Jer. 1:5 or both; see J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations* (London/Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 82; Krister Stendahl, "Paul Among Jews and Gentiles," 8-10; Betz, *Galatians*, 70 n. 130; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 92; R. Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NIC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 63; cf. Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 63. However, in light of the programmatic use of Isa. 49 elsewhere in Gal. 1, it is easier to understand Paul's textual reference as being to only Isa. 49:1 at Gal. 1:15 (so Munck, *Paul*, 24-28; Nickelsburg, "Ektroma," 198-205).

⁹¹ Munk, *Paul*, 25-26, 27 n. 4; Beker, *Paul*, 115; Bruce, *Galatians*, 92.

of Galatians 1:16a echoes ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι of Isaiah 49:3.

That ἀποκαλύψαι of Galatians 1:16 corresponds to δοξασθήσομαι of Isaiah 49:3 is strengthened by several texts in the prophets and Paul. The aorist passive of δοξάζω often denotes the manifestation of God's visible presence: On the eschatological day in which God theophanically comes to judge the "hosts of heaven" and the "kings of earth" God will manifest himself (δοξασθήσεται) to the elders (Isa. 24:21-23 LXX). When God comes to judge Sidon he promises ἐνδοξασθήσομαι ἐν σοί (Ezek. 28:22 LXX). On the day when Israel has cleansed the land of all the dead, God promises that ἔσται αὐτοῖς εἰς ὄνομαστόν ἡ ἡμέρα ἐδοξάσθην (Ezek. 39:13 LXX). Yahweh instructs the people to build him a house that εὐδοκήσω ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι (Hag. 1:8 LXX). In 2 Thessalonians 1:10 Paul, too, employs the passive of δοξάζω + the dative to refer to God's theophany of judgment--with two modifications. God's manifestation of his Glory (ἐνδοξασθῆναι ... αὐτοῦ) on that day (ἐλθῇ) will be a decidedly Christo-centric deed: God's manifestation of Glory will occur in/through Jesus. Also, the manifestation of God occurs *in* the believers (ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ). God's manifestation of eschatological Glory is incorporative. Thus, the passives of ἀποκαλύπτω and δοξάζω, when speaking of God's eschatological self-manifestation, bear the same semantic cargo.

The net result of such intertextual suturing by Paul is to graft his story into the narrative unfolded in Isaiah.⁹² (1) The change of tenses historicizes the promise of Isaiah and analeptically identifies the resurrected Jesus as a revelation of God's δόξα. (2) Paul then becomes the chosen servant (δοῦλος, Isa. 49:3a LXX) whose commission specifically targets the nations as the objects of God's salvation.⁹³ Just as the servant endured

⁹² Tabor, *Unutterable*, 40.

⁹³ Munck, *Paul*, 24-33; Bruce, *Paul*, 146, 167; Kim, *Origin*, 30-31, 93-95; Paul E. Dinter, "Paul and the Prophet Isaiah," *BTB* 13 (1983): 48-52; Arland J. Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel and Mission: The Outlook From His*

suffering, and thus enjoyed a special δόξα (Isa. 42:8; 49:3, 5; 52:13, 14; 53:2 LXX), so too Paul: in his stewardship of his apostolic calling, he both suffered and was the special bearer of the δόξα. The redemption of Israel and the inclusion of the nations which occurs in the exercising of apostolic ministry is a manifestation of the Glory of God (ἀποστόλοι ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 8:23).⁹⁴

The examination of Galatians 1:11-17 therefore leads to the following conclusions: (1) Paul defines the Christophany as a revelatory confrontation with the resurrected/exalted Jesus which (2) conferred upon Paul his gospel (i.e., his convictional system) and (3) configured his relationship with his church and detractors. (4) Paul heuristically read his Christophany against the grid of mystical and apocalyptic Judaism, specifically the heavenly ascents of Jewish apocalypses, and therefore interpreted the Christophany as a throne vision in which the special agent of God was equated with the Glory of God. (5) Paul's confrontation with the resurrected Jesus wove his life into the very fabric of God's story: Paul also heuristically read Christophany as call (a field of reference not unrelated to throne visions), which in turn led Paul to interpret, through intertextual echo of Isaiah 49, Jesus' resurrection appearance as revelation of God's δόξα and explain apostolic ministry as a conduit for divine Glory.

3. *Philippians 3:2-21*

The Christophany also determined Paul's own narrative about himself, his autobiography and his narrative construction of the Christian life. Philippians 3 opens with a warning about the

Letter to the Romans (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 128-30; Sydney H. T. Page, "The Suffering Servant Between the Testaments," *NTS* 31 (1985): 481-97; Dunn, "Light," 254 n. 9. Cf. M. D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1959), 114-16; D. E. H. Whiteley, *The Theology of St. Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), 148-51.

⁹⁴ Carrez, *Souffrance*, 90-91; Dieter Georgi, *Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem* (Theologische Forschung 38; Hamburg: Herbert Reich, 1965), 55. Cf. 2 Cor. 1:20; 8:19.

"dogs" (κύνας, v. 2a), "evil workers" (τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, v. 2b), "those who mutilate the flesh" (τὴν κατατομήν, v. 2c). Paul then antithetically situates himself as one of the true "circumcision" (ἡ περιτομή, v. 3a), one who truly worships and serves (οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, v. 3b). To validate his claims Paul narrates his life story. Paul begins by chronicling his Jewish heritage: circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; as to law, a Pharisee; as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law, blameless (vv. 4-6).

Paul's narrative took an unexpected turn, however. Paul underwent transvaluation: what was gain (κέρδη, v. 7), i.e., Judaism, became loss (ζημίαν, vv. 7, 8); what was despised and persecuted (Christ/Christianity) became valuable.⁹⁵ Why? Why such a re-appraisal? "Because of Christ" (διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν, v. 7)--more particularly, "because of the knowledge of Christ" (διὰ τὸ ὑπέρχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ, v. 8). In both verses διὰ + the accusative should be rendered as ground or cause: "because of Christ..." and "because of the surpassing knowledge...."⁹⁶ Semantic equivalents of δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Χριστοῦ (Gal. 1:12) and ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ (Gal. 1:16), both phrases serve as technical references to the Christophany.⁹⁷ Paul assigns apocalyptic potency to this "knowledge of Christ": it is a knowledge of "surpassing" (τὸ ὑπέρχον, v. 8) value. The signifying power of Paul's Christophany, the γνώσεως Χριστοῦ, rests upon its eschatological character as end-of-time resurrection.⁹⁸

The Christophany empowered Paul to narrate his life story because Christophany forms an end, the end. Knowing the end confers upon Paul voice: he can speak because he knows, and he knows because he possesses the end, the Christophany.

⁹⁵ Gager, "Notes," 697-704.

⁹⁶ BDF § 222; Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (WBC 43; Waco: Word, 1983), 138; Ralph. P. Martin, *Philippians* (NCNB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 146.

⁹⁷ Peter Stuhlmacher, *Evangelium*, 77.

⁹⁸ Cf. 1 Cor. 12:31; 2 Cor. 4:7, 17; 9:14; 12:7; Eph. 1:9; 2:7; 3:19.

Ironically and paradoxically, though typically treated as the beginning of Paul's apostolic life, the Christophany is in fact the end. Paul can narrate his own life story because his life had already reached an end, or death/resurrection: in the Christophany Paul died (to the old life), and his formalized autobiography is an attempt to bind the energy released by his experience of resurrection (cf. Rom. 6:1-4).

Though Paul had already experienced his death and thus was able to narrate (to live), Paul continues seeking death/resurrection. Paul seeks to repeat the end over and over. Paul is driven to further knowledge of Christ (τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτὸν, v. 10a), resurrection (καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ, v. 10a) and more intimate suffering (καὶ [τὴν] κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, v. 10a) by being (repeatedly) co-conformed into the death of Jesus (συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, v. 10b),⁹⁹ so that he might live and thus master death through resurrection (εἰ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, v. 11). Paul again releases the power (δύναμις) of Christophany, not only by rehearsing the effect of the Christophany, transvaluation, but by formalizing Christophany into a continuing "middle" of dying and rising. By repeating his end, the Christophany, Paul masters his life and thereby relentlessly pursues (διώκω, vv. 12, 14) "completion" (τετελείωμαι, v. 12). The goal (σκοπὸν, v. 14) toward which Paul obsessively drives (ἐπεκτεινόμενος, v. 13) is none other than the calling (κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ, v. 14) by which Christ laid hold of Paul (κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, 3:12), i.e., the Christophany. Paul's own end is his beginning, and his beginning is his end.

Paul then offers his own narrative as a paradigm for all Christians. Paul invites all desiring completion, the τέλειοι (v. 15; cf. 1 Cor. 2:7), to participate in his story, to re-enact death/resurrection (i.e., Christophany), to become a co-imitator (συμμιμηταί, v. 17). Paul warns of a dangerous detour, an

⁹⁹ Segal, *Paul*, 63-64, 141.

improper death--a subplot to Christian transformation into Christ. Paul warns of those who set their minds on earthly things, whose desire is shame, and who consequently are traveling to a completely different end, "destruction" (τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια, v. 19). Ironically, those whose life narrative conforms to this ominous subplot are enemies of the (only authentic) death found in Jesus (τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, v. 18). The proper and natural end, to which repetition leads, is transformation (μετασχηματίζει, v. 21) into conformity (σύμμορφον) with the body of Glory (τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης, v. 21)--a final transformation into a Christophanic end. Paul therefore connects his beginning, Christophany, with his end, final transformation into Glory. We are left only to state Paul's conviction for him: as a revelation of δόξα, the Christophany inaugurates the process of transformation into Glory to which repeated Christophanic experiences necessarily lead.

Paul's autobiographical narrative presupposes that he has experienced the end, death/resurrection, and that in the "middle" of his narration, i.e., the time between Christophany and parousia, Paul seeks a mastery of death through a re-enactment of Christophany--dying that he might rise. Paul patterns his Christian narration after his own story: in the Christophany Paul died and was reborn. Though Paul acknowledges a threat of unnatural death, or end, he describes the eschatological goal of transformation as conformity to Jesus' resurrection body of Glory. Since, for Paul, the end and the beginning are the same, his description of transformation into Glory semiotically identifies the Christophany as a revelation of Jesus' Glory.

To sum up the discussion of this chapter: (1) Though scholars have understood Paul's Christophany in very different and sometimes conflicting ways, the discussion above sought to unearth the way in which the Christophany signed within the corpus of Paul's letters. (2) As 1 Corinthians 9 and 15 demonstrate, the Christophany is an important warranting basis in Paul's argumentation about his notion of apostolic freedom and resurrection. The Christophany wields such power because

it signs the resurrection--a key element in Paul's convictional system (i.e., his gospel story). In fact, the Christophany wrote Paul's life into the long story of salvation narrated by the Jewish scriptures and eschatologically amplified in the gospel, the story of Jesus. The net end of such intertextual linkage is to bring Paul's Christophany into a paradigmatic relationship with his gospel and define the Christophany as a revelation of Glory. In his use of ὡφθῆ Paul parallels his Christophany with the great revelations of God in the scriptures, thereby defining his Christophany as a revelation of eschatological Glory--a proleptic fulfillment of the future, end-of-time Glory. (3) By describing his Christophany as a "revelation," an ἀποκάλυψις (Gal. 1), Paul was reading his Christophany against the grid of mystical and apocalyptic Judaism: Paul's Christophany should be interpreted as a throne vision, akin to the heavenly ascents of Jewish apocalypses. In his throne vision, his Christophany, Paul encountered the special agent, Jesus, who is to be equated with the Glory of God. Paul also interpreted his Christophany as a prophetic call: like Ezekiel and Isaiah, Paul was called through a confrontation with divine Glory. (4) Paul's autobiographical narrative in Philippians 3 also isolates the origin of Paul's Glory Christology as the Christophany. For Paul the beginning, middle and end of life in Christ is a reenactment of Christophany--death/resurrection. Since the end of transformation is conformity to divine Glory, the beginning, the Christophany, is narratively defined as a proleptic revelation of eschatological Glory.

Though Paul never made the surface argument that Christ = δόξα, one can still deduce that such an identification occurred at the convictional level for Paul. According to Paul's own testimony, the Christophany transformed his symbolic world by suffusing it with an apocalyptic Christology. Only when refracted through the prism of the Christophany did the Glory tradition coalesce to support the identification of Christ as δόξα. In short, the Damascus Christophany led Paul to weld together various strands of the Glory tradition to arrive at the

identification of Christ as δόξα. The three key Christophany texts support such a conclusion. Further confirmation can be found in the next chapter, where the net is widened to include a broader survey of Glory texts in Paul and then narrowed once again to discern Paul's rhetorical skill in using Glory language.

CHAPTER TEN

THE RHETORIC OF PAUL'S GLORY-CHRISTOLOGY

A. GLORY IN THE GRAMMAR OF PAUL'S THEOLOGY

In his book *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, E. P. Sanders has helpfully divined the way in which Paul's theology works.¹ He describes Paul's "pattern of religion" by his (now famous) categories of "getting in" and "staying in." Sanders' description of Paul's "soteriological pattern" (what I shall refer to as the grammar of Paul's theology²) has some distinct advantages: (1) it unveils the way in which Paul's diverse language functions paradigmatically and (2) discloses the essential, coherent emplotment of Paul's theological structure, while (3) not artificially subsuming Paul's theology under a single *Leitmotif*.

Sanders identifies two basic "movements" in Paul's theology. The horizontal movement Sanders calls a "transfer" from one "status" to another. In a Pauline construal, this is how one "gets in." All human beings begin in a state of condemnation: they are "under sin," "in sin," "under law," "sinners," "enemies," "condemned," "unrighteous" and are, due to the "works of the flesh," destined to suffer "death" and "destruction." Through the activity of Christ, specifically his death, human beings are transferred out from under "sin," "law" and "death," and experience "life," "acquittal," "righteousness," "Spirit" and adoption as "sons." Paul variously refers to this process of

¹ Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 4-10.

² Cf. Richard B. Hays' ("Crucified with Christ," 319) use of the words "grammar" and "syntax" to refer to Paul's convictional/foundational story, which, for Hays, includes the soteriological pattern of Paul's religion (see below).

transfer as "believing," "having faith," "being justified," "being reconciled," "being washed" and "being sanctified."³

The vertical, or "staying in," axis reflects required "behavior within each state and its consequences." Once transferred, one is to engage in a new behavior, namely, to bear "fruit of the Spirit," "fruit of righteousness," "to keep the law of Christ," "to keep the whole law," to be "blameless," "guiltless," "holy" and "pure" [in one's behavior]--the believer is simply to "do good." According to Sanders' reading of Paul, for those who persist in doing good, salvation; for those who commit transgressions and repent, salvation; but for those who commit transgressions and do not repent, (eschatological?) exclusion.⁴ In short, according to Sanders, Paul teaches that one *becomes* saved by belief in Jesus, but one *remains* saved by good works and repentance.⁵

Sanders lays no claim to completeness, and thus it is not surprising to find several who have disagreed and/or stated with more precision how Paul's religion works.⁶ (1) Despite his own disclaimers to the contrary,⁷ Sanders' understanding of how a believer "maintains" his or her status in Pauline Christianity opens him up to the charge of making Paul rather schizophrenic: Paul, having abandoned "covenantal nomism" as his religion, now espouses a new, Christian form of the same.⁸ As Robert

³ Rom. 5:8-10, 18, 19; 6:4, 7; 7:4-6; 8:1f.; 1 Cor. 6:9-11; Gal. 2:16; 3:2, 7, 14, 21, 26; Phil. 3:6-11; cf. Fitzmyer, *Paul*, 59-71.

⁴ Cf. Rom. 8:4; 13:8-10; 1 Cor. 1:8; 3:12-15; 4:4-5; 5:1-5, 9, 11-13; 6:9; 7:19, 34; 9:21; 11:30-32; 2 Cor. 5:10; 7:1, 9-10; 12:21; Gal 5:14, 19, 21, 22; 6:2, 9; Phil. 1:9-11; 2:15; 1 Thess. 1:3-4; 3:13; 5:23.

⁵ Sanders, *Paul*, 543.

⁶ Thomas F. Best, "The Apostle Paul and E. P. Sanders: The Significance of Paul and Palestinian Judaism," *Restoration Quarterly* 25 (1982): 65-74: "The presentation of the pattern of religion in Pauline Christianity is still waiting to be done [72]. ... What Sanders should now do, having exorcised the demons of Bultmann, Käsemann, and Bornkamm, is to write the holist [sic] treatment of Pauline Christianity called for above, exploring more fully the implications of a participationist approach to Paul and basing his work upon the total Pauline corpus" [73].

⁷ Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 210 n.1; idem, *Paul*, 511-18.

⁸ See, especially, the criticisms of Morna D. Hooker, "Paul and 'Covenantal Nomism,'" *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C. K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982), 47-56.

H. Gundry sums up: "Sanders' view therefore requires us to think that after defining in an un-Jewish, Christological way the grace that gets a person in, Paul lapses back to his inherited Jewish, un-Christological way of thinking with regard to staying in...."⁹ Gundry, instead, reads Paul as teaching that one maintains his or her Christianity on same grounds as they first acquired it--on the basis of grace and faith. Good works are (only) evidential of grace and faith. How one "gets in" and how one "stays in" are exactly the same--by faith in Christ.

(2) Sanders fails to account for Paul's highly eschatological way of theologizing. To his credit, Sanders does include eschatology by stating that it is one of Paul's central "convictions."¹⁰ Still, the *structure* he graphs lacks the apocalyptic edge that characterizes Paul's thinking.¹¹ Sanders' decidedly unapocalyptic reading of Paul forces one to pay a rather high eschatological price, for behind the various "states" he identifies stand apocalyptic "power spheres" or "canopies of power" which influence and dominate human life.¹² These "powers" are locked in an eschatological war with the new, resurrection age inaugurated by Jesus. Sanders' overly synchronic portrayal of Paul's pattern of religion fails to reckon with resultant, diachronic shift of aeons effected in the cross/resurrection of Jesus (and in its subsequent representation in gospel preaching). To put the matter differently: Sanders' fixation on an anthropocentric pattern of religion ignores the narrative, cosmic and theocentric dimensions of the cross/resurrection.

(3) Sanders' language of "getting in" and "staying in" has now been formulated with more precision. Wayne Meeks,¹³

⁹ Robert H. Gundry, "Grace, Works, and Staying Saved in Paul," *Bib* 66 (1985): 1-38 (quoting 8).

¹⁰ Sanders, *Paul*, 441.

¹¹ Beker, *Paul*, 144.

¹² Robert B. Sloan, "Paul and the Law: Why the Law Cannot Save," *NovT* 33 (1991): 35-60.

¹³ Meeks, *Urban Christians*, 164-92 (especially 183-89).

depending upon the work of Gerd Theissen,¹⁴ employs the more accurate linguistic registers of sociomorphic and physiomorphic terminology. Sociomorphic language portrays salvation in terms of social relations--that of a master/slave, father/son, judge/accused, friend/enemy--while physiomorphic language portrays salvation by means of organic images--growth/decay, life/death, division/union, change in shapes (often involving mirrors or reflected vision). Whereas the sociomorphic register relates to what Sanders calls "transfer" or "getting in," the physiomorphic register more often relates to the process of "staying in." Sociomorphic and physiomorphic categories respect the overlap between transfer and transformation terminology: in hearing and believing the gospel one is transferred from darkness to light and simultaneously transformed. Further, while Sanders' mapping of Paul's theology is done in purely functional terms, the physiomorphic register points the ontological transformation which is constitutive of Paul's notion of salvation. Finally, both Paul's sociomorphic and physiomorphic discourse registers reflect the apocalyptic tenor of his thinking, for both are awash in eschatology: it is in this life (already) that the first fruits of social restoration and physical transformation are experienced.

(4) Sanders' description of Paul's set of "convictions" has been a matter of great interest. Richard B. Hays has further detailed the narrative contours of Paul's convictional world.¹⁵

- (i) God long ago revealed, in his promise to Abraham, his intention to bless "all nations." This intention was a result of God's love, which expresses itself in God's election and calling of a people for salvation.
- (ii) God sent for his son Jesus Christ in order to liberate people who were in bondage and to make them "sons" of God. This sending of Jesus was God's way of fulfilling the promise made to Abraham.
- (iii) Jesus achieved God's purpose through his death on a cross. This death was simultaneously an act of obedience to God and of love for those whom he died to save. That is why Paul interprets Jesus' death as an

¹⁴ Gerd Theissen, "Soteriologische Symbolik in den paulinischen Schriften: Ein strukturalistischer Beitrag," *KD* 20 (1974): 282-304.

¹⁵ What follows is abstracted from Hays, "Crucified with Christ," 324-25.

act of "faithfulness" (*pistis*): Jesus' obedience to God brings about the fulfillment of God's promise to humanity. For reasons that Paul does not entirely explain, Jesus' death has multifaceted consequences: to it can be ascribed deliverance from the wrath of God and from "the present evil age," and redemption from the "curse of the Law." Positively speaking, Jesus' death seems to be the means through which the community has received the gift of the Spirit, and the "life" with Jesus, with its blessings of freedom and righteousness. Paul's frequent formulaic references to the *charis* of our Lord Jesus Christ appear to be based in this interpretation of Jesus' death as an act of love that has vicarious salvific benefits for others. (iv) Jesus was also raised from the dead. (v) Jesus' death/resurrection puts an end to the world as it was and adumbrates the "new creation." However, one of the story's most crucial features is its interpretation of the present time as a temporal anomaly, an in-between time in which the community "awaits the hope of righteousness" (Gal 5:5). During this interval, the believing community suffers. At the same time, however, the present is a time in which the Holy Spirit is given to the community as a sign of their adoption into God's family, and the word of God goes forth in power through the preaching of the gospel. (vi) The community's hope is fixed on an event which still lies in the future of the story: the parousia of the Lord Jesus, when he will come from heaven to claim his people and transform them into his likeness, pronouncing judgment on the world. At this time the dead will be raised.

Whereas Sanders does not explicitly relate Paul's soteriological pattern to his convictions, Hays subsumes the pattern within the foundational story. At this point, Hays' proposal is to be preferred: Paul models his sociomorphic and physiomorphic language after the life of Jesus--indeed, the story of Jesus envelops the story of the believer.¹⁶ In the discussion of Glory which follows, a distinction, for the sake of clarity, will be made between Paul's convictions (the story of Jesus) and the pattern of his faith (the story of humans).

Paul employs Glory to refer to various events in his narrative of salvation. As was noted in the previous chapter, Romans 9:4 generically refers to any (past) theophany of God as a (revelation of) Glory. Such appearances of God typically occurred to key characters at key junctures in the narrative of the Jewish

¹⁶ See Hays' provocative comments on participation human participation in the foundational "narrative" (*Faith of Jesus Christ*, 248-54).

scriptures. Preeminently, however, it is the saving deeds of Jesus which make known the mystery of Glory, hidden from the ages past, to all the nations (γνωρίση τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, Rom. 9:23; γνωρίσαι τί τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Col. 1:27a). Furthermore, Paul both compares and contrasts the revelation of Glory to Moses with the apocalypse of Glory which occurred in and through the appearance(s) of Jesus. Glory legitimized the new covenant established by Jesus' life, death and resurrection (ἡ διακονία ... ἐν δόξῃ, 2 Cor. 3:8, 9). Glory, eschatological Glory (ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης, 2 Cor. 3:10), is the sign of the new covenant. By invoking the far horizons of history, these texts fit the earthly deeds and appearances of Jesus within the overarching emplotment of the Jewish scriptures.

Paul not only employs Glory to tether analeptically his foundational story to the long Jewish narrative of salvation, he also employs Glory as an important "sign" *within* the foundational story itself. Glory possesses a close connection with the resurrection of Jesus and the presence and power of God. Romans 6:4 makes this connection explicit by picturing Christ as being passively raised by the Glory of God (ἡγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης). In a passage suspected of confessional (i.e., convictional) shaping, δόξα here can only refer to the eschatological (resurrection) power of God which infused, animated and now characterizes Jesus.¹⁷ Paul confirms such a characterization in Philippians 3:21: as the resurrected and exalted Lord, Jesus' body now consists of Glory (σώματι τῆς δόξης), a body to which the bodies of all believers will one day be conformed (μετασχηματίσει ... σύμμορφον), by the

¹⁷ C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols; ICC. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975, 1979), 1:304; Ernst Käsemann, *Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 166; cf. Matthew Black, *Romans* (2d ed. NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), 88, who construes διὰ τῆς δόξης as attendant circumstance. Cf. 1 Tim. 3:16: ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ; ἐν δόξῃ can be read as either means or sphere.

working of his power (ἐνέργειαν), the very (resurrection) power by which Christ has subjected the τὰ πάντα.

This last passage suggests yet another key event in Paul's foundational story which is denoted and connoted by Glory, namely, the parousia. The future revelation of Jesus will be an apocalypse in Glory. When Christ is manifested (ὅταν ὁ Χριστὸς φανερωθῇ), all believers will appear with him in Glory (φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ, Col. 3:4). This is to say, when Jesus appears ἐν δόξῃ, believers will appear ἐν δόξῃ with him. Though the dative certainly implies sphere, both time and means lie close at hand: final, eschatological glorification occurs when Jesus appears in (a mighty theophany of) Glory.¹⁸ 2 Thessalonians 1:5-12 also portrays the parousia of Christ as a powerful and vengeful arrival of Jesus' resurrection δόξα.

... when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels in flaming fire, inflicting vengeance upon those who do not know God and upon those who do not obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus. They shall suffer the punishment of eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might, when he comes on that day to be glorified in his saints, and to be marveled at in all who have believed... (2 Thess. 1:7b-10a).

In a fiery theophany, the Lord Jesus, accompanied by his mighty angels, will come ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ¹⁹ to inflict the punishment of eternal destruction and exclusion ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος upon those ignorant of and disobedient to the gospel. Co-terminus with this judgment theophany of his δόξα, the risen Lord will manifest himself (ἐνδοξασθῆναι) in his saints, i.e., those who have believed the gospel.

The most interesting convictional uses of Glory, however, are when Paul employs Glory as a homologation for the gospel (story) itself. The gospel, which in Romans the apostle characterizes as a theophany of God's δύναμις, δικαιοσύνη

¹⁸ The theophanic tradition is clearer in Tit. 2:13 (ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης), where the parousia consists in a revelation of Glory.

¹⁹ The spatial idea of ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ is a defining feature of the theophanic tradition; cf. Rom 1:18; 1 Thess. 4:16; 2 Thess. 1:7 (see next note).

and ὁργή (Rom. 1:16-18),²⁰ Paul calls elsewhere a revelation of God's δόξα. In 2 Corinthians 4:3-4 Paul depicts the gospel as a revelation of Glory.

And even if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing. In their case the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God.

The string of genitives in verse 4 can be read in one of two ways. Either τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ is governed by εὐαγγελίου: "a gospel characterized by 'glory' and 'Christ'"; or, τοῦ Χριστοῦ directly depends upon τῆς δόξης: "a gospel consisting in 'glory' which is 'Christ,'" the very εἰκὼν of God.²¹ In either case, "gospel," "glory," "Christ" and "image" are all brought into a paradigmatic relationship.²²

Two verses later (4:6), Paul writes that the gospel gives knowledge of the Glory of God in the face of Jesus (τῆς

²⁰ Though a preached message, the gospel cannot be reduced simply to a "word-event" or an existential decision. The gospel is much more; it is an "epiphany" (Käsemann, *Romans*, 22). As a partial realization of the end-time, the gospel inaugurates the future, universal theophanic arrival of God ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. Following Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:110-11, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ should not be contrasted with ἐν αὐτῷ of v. 17a (as if Paul thought the gospel revealed righteousness and heaven revealed wrath). Neither should ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ be interpreted as just another way to refer to God; cf. Morris, *Romans*, 77 n. 198. Instead, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ again recalls the graphic arrival of God; Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes*, 78-84. Because the gospel consists of an in-breaking of the future--an in-breaking which signals the change of aeons--gospel preaching makes present (the partial realization of) both future salvation and the "fearful apocalyptic catastrophes" (Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:111). The theophanic character of the gospel is in essential agreement with the theophanic character of Jesus traditions; Glasson, "Theophany," 259-70.

²¹ Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians: Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 32A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 221-22.

²² See Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), 117; Hans Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I. II.* (5th ed; HNT 9; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1969), 115; Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 195-96; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 248; Ralph P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40; Waco: Word, 1986), 79. Cf. 1 Tim. 1:11; C. H. Dodd, "The Gospel of the Glory of the Blessed God (1 Tim. 1:11)," *USQR* 6 (1950): 6-10 = *ExpT* 63 (1952): 333-35.

γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]). In this claim Paul has left the Sinaitic imagery and invokes the image-making power inherent in the scriptural account of creation. Normally, some grand apocalypse is thought of as the end of the narrative world generated by the Jewish scriptures: prophetic-apocalyptic eschatology foreshadows the appropriateness of such a conclusion, and early Jewish and Christian apocalypses attempt to complete successfully the linkage. Because Paul's Christophany signs a resurrection appearance, an apocalypse, it also provides a sense of closure. Of particular note are the circular connections between Christophany, as resurrection, and Genesis.

There are three strong terminological connections between Genesis 1 and 2 Corinthians 4. (1) Both Genesis 1 and 2 Corinthians 4 share "light" and "darkness" terminology (φῶς: Gen. 1:3 LXX, 2 Cor. 4:6; φωτισμὸν: 2 Cor. 4:4, 6; λάμψει, ἔλαμψεν: 2 Cor. 4:6; σκότος: Gen. 1, 4, 5 LXX, 2 Cor. 4:6). (2) In both Genesis and 2 Corinthians God "speaks" the creative activity into process (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς: Gen. 1:3 LXX; ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπών: 2 Cor. 4:6). And (3), in both Genesis 1 and 2 Corinthians God's image is borne by an earthly man (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν; καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν: Gen. 1:26, 27 LXX; Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ: 2 Cor. 4:4). Though detecting only one strong echo of Genesis 1 in 2 Corinthians 4:4-6 (to which two others have now been added), Richard Hays states that the "allusion can hardly be missed."

Paul's Christophanic dance with Genesis provides a sense of closure. Genesis begins with the story of creation: how God spoke light into existence, how God separated and named light and darkness, and, most importantly, how God created humanity. Now, in and through Christophany, God has effected a second creation. Ἐλαμψεν (4:6) recalls the moment when the Christophanic φωτισμὸν burst upon Paul, in which he "saw" (αὐγάζαι; cf. 1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8) the "light of the gospel" of the

"glory of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4, 6). Here Paul favorably compares his Christophanic "enlightening" with the first creation light (Gen. 1:3 LXX). As an act of new creation the Christophany transferred Paul from the realm of darkness to the realm of light (2 Cor. 4:6). Again light has conquered darkness. Just as Genesis revealed Adam as the first man created in the image of God, Paul's Christophany revealed Jesus as the image of God. Through circularity Paul intertextually situates the Christophany as a second, creative act of God, and by doing so Paul defended his gospel, his message of new creation. Therefore, Paul, by echoing the revelation of כבוד in tabernacle and in temple, points to the preaching of Jesus as the *place* where the divine presence of God is (now) to be found. Conversion (i.e., hearing and believing the gospel) consists in knowing the Glory of God--an act of new creation.

Understanding the gospel as a revelation of δόξα coheres with what Paul says elsewhere about his apostolic preaching.

Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church, of which I became a minister according to the divine office which was given to me for you, to make the word of God (lovgon tou' qeou') fully known, the mystery hidden for ages and generations but now made manifest to his saints. To them God chose to make known how great among the Gentiles are the riches of the glory of this mystery (τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου), which is Christ in you, the hope of glory (ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης). Him we proclaim... (Col. 1:24-28a).

God entrusted to Paul the task of making known the λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, the μυστήριον hidden from ages past. This μυστήριον which Paul preached to the nations is none other than Christ, ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης. The parallels of λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, μυστήριον and Χριστός all work to define paradigmatically the content of Paul's preaching, his gospel, as a gospel of δόξα.²³

²³ F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and the Ephesians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 80 n. 197, reads τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου as a dependent genitive: "the great mystery"; cf. Rom. 9:23; Eph. 1:18. Even if this reading be best, Paul still defines the

Paul thus conceives of the resurrection, parousia and gospel as a revelation of God's eschatological δόξα in Jesus--a revelation of δόξα which possesses significant prefigurements, foreshadowments and analogs in the revelation of God's כבוד in the Jewish scriptures: Glory fits Jesus into a long line of God's appearances; Glory is now revealed in a person or a preached message about that person (rather than in tabernacle or temple); and like the apocalyptic writers, Paul affirms that a relationship with God can be established through "knowing" Glory.

Since for Paul there is a convictional equivalence between resurrection and parousia, what is said of one may well be said of the others. Furthermore, since Paul interprets his Christophany as a proleptic parousia in essential agreement with the gospel he preached, it too is brought into the same convictional relationship. Indeed, Paul's theophanic portrayal of both the gospel and parousia may even grow out of his understanding of the Christophany as a proleptic, resurrection theophany. The Christophany informed Paul about the nature of resurrection; the Christophany determined the death-life (crucifixion-resurrection) shape of Paul's preaching; and the Christophany configured the way in which Paul spoke of Jesus' coming parousia. When depicting the gospel and parousia as a theophany of end-of-time resurrection δόξα, Paul may well betray something of his interpretation of the Christophany.²⁴

Paul also employs Glory to refer to the process of transference from one canopy of power to another. In salvation, God "calls" the believer to his kingdom and Glory (τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ δόξαν, 1

content of the mystery as Christ in you (gentiles), the hope of Glory. Glory, Christ and gospel are brought into a paradigmatic relationship.

²⁴ Luke's accounts of Paul's conversion experience have been interpreted as theophanies (Acts 9:3-19; 22:6-21; 26:12-23; cf. especially 9:3, 22:6: ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ); Fergus Kerr, "Paul's Experience: Sighting or Theophany?" *New Blackfriars* 58 (1977): 306-13; Otto Michel, "Das Licht der Messias," *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube* (ed. E. Bammel, C. K. Barrett and W. D. Davies; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 40-50 (especially 44). Could it be that Luke is here reflecting good Pauline tradition?

Thess. 2:12). Several exegetical observations can be teased from this text. (1) Through syntactical apposition, Paul here inserts Glory into the same paradigmatic field of signifiers as "kingdom of God,"²⁵ which (2) thus defines Glory as the in-breaking of the future (resurrection) age.²⁶ (3) Implied by this statement is Paul's conviction that a false kingdom and king currently enslave humanity, and God, as the true king, transfers the subject to a new domain or sphere of power.²⁷ (4) The language Paul employs to refer to the act of transfer evokes a social context: in conversion, God "calls" and thereby establishes a new relationship with himself (ἐαυτοῦ).²⁸ In 2 Thessalonians 2:14 God similarly "calls," but the passage adds two more important details. (5) Paul envisions salvation as obtaining the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ (εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). In this case, however, Glory is Christologically defined: the believer obtains the Glory which characterizes Christ's resurrection life. Whereas in 1 Thessalonians 2:12 conversion leads to the kingdom and Glory of God, in 2 Thessalonians 2:14 it leads to the Glory of Christ. Kingdom of God, Glory of God and Glory of Christ all participate in the same paradigmatic field.²⁹ Finally, (6) the Glory of Christ is mediated through the gospel (διὰ τοῦ

²⁵ Cf. Rom. 14:17; 1 Cor. 4:20; 6:9, 10; 15:24, 50; Gal. 5:21; Karl Paul Donfried, "The Kingdom of God in Paul," *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation* (ed. W. Willis Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 175-90 (especially 181-83); Günter Haufe, "Reich Gottes bei Paulus und in der Jesustradition," *NTS* 31 (1985): 467-72 (especially 468); cf. George Johnston, "'Kingdom of God' Sayings in Paul's Letters," *From Jesus to Paul: Essays in Honour of Francis Wright Beare* (ed. P. Richardson and J. C. Hurd; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), 143-56 (especially 144-45). In the case of 1 Thess. 2:12, as well as many of the other kingdom sayings in Paul, Donfried calls attention to the importance of the baptismal-confessional (convictional) shape of the passage. In the act of identification with the Christ of the gospel, the future (Glory) is proleptically experienced in the present.

²⁶ Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, 37.

²⁷ Cf. Col. 1:12-13.

²⁸ Meeks, *Urban Christians*, 85.

²⁹ Cf. 2 Tim. 2:10: ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σωτηρίας τύχωσιν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ δόξης αἰωνίου.

εὐαγγελίου), thus reinforcing what was already discovered about Glory in Paul's convictional world. The gospel, a gospel characterized by Paul as a gospel of the Glory of Christ (2 Cor. 4:4, 6), reveals the Glory of Christ.

Several texts in Paul's letter to the Romans further demonstrate how Glory figured into Paul's sociomorphically structured transfer language. At Romans 1:23, Paul, in commenting about those who have consistently turned their backs upon the revealed presence of God, writes that in "claiming to be wise they became fools, and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man, birds, animals or reptiles." This verse pictures a process of deformation (becoming fools) and an improper relationship between God and humanity (exchange). By echoing the use of כבוד in Jeremiah 2:11 (cf. Ps. 105:20), Paul invokes the making of the golden calf (Exod. 32). Just as Israel forsook God and broke relationship, so, too, those to whom God has revealed himself: they have committed an unparalleled evil. This is confirmed a little later when Paul writes that "all have sinned and are falling short of the glory of God" (πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ). Normally interpreted as a reference to the lost glory that Adam (supposedly) possessed at creation, this verse, however, refers to the relationship between God and humanity. Exchanging the "glory of God" and "falling short of the glory of God" are synonymous for a ruptured relationship.³⁰ The syntactical

³⁰ Cf. Davies, *Paul*, 46-47; Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 26-27, 35-36, 70-74; James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 102-103, 105-107. In early Jewish materials there is indeed a tradition which speaks of a restoration of (prelapsarian?) Glory to Adam; see Bar. 4:16; 2 Bar. 54:13-16; CD iii 20; 1QS iv 23; 1QH xvii 15; 4Q504 fr. 8 recto; T. Abr. 11:8-9; Life of Adam and Eve 12:1; Apoc. Mos. 21:2, 6; 39:2; cf. 4QpPs^a 1-10 iii 2 (= 4Q171); 1 Enoch 89:44-45. Rom. 3:23 is said to be the text which betrays Adam's forfeiture of δόξα; Dunn, *Romans* 1-8, 167-68; Käsemann, *Romans*, 94-95; Black, *Romans*, 66-67; Kittel, *Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 192-93. Even Kim, *Origin*, 262, 264 n. 1, 319-21, for all his emphasis upon the Christophany argues that Paul's Glory

juxtaposition of "freedom of Glory" to "slavery of decay" in Romans 8:21 argues for a qualitatively new relational sphere of existence for the "sons" (ὅτι καὶ αὕτη ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ).³¹ Finally, at Romans 8:29-30, Paul draws glorification (ἐδόξασεν) into a complex web of transference signifiers--to foreknow (προέγνω), to predestine (προώρισεν), to call (ἐκάλεσεν) and to justify (ἐδικαίωσεν). The tense of ἐδόξασεν does not (merely) denote the certainty of future glorification;³² rather, the

language depends upon Rabbinic speculation concerning Adam. However, Paul never connects Adam and Glory and, for that matter, neither does Genesis 1. Further Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 276-81 (especially 278 n. 58) connects Adam Glory speculation to Ezek. 1:26-28, the man-like (Adam) appearance of יְהוָה כְּבֹד. As already argued, Paul parallels δικαιοσύνη, ὀργή and δόξα as apocalyptic symbols to speak of the revelation of judgment and salvation in the gospel. Δόξα θεοῦ could quite possibly refer to the judgment which occurs at the time of God's theophanic revelation. This interpretation is supported by texts in early Jewish writings; see Pr. Man. 5: "...for thy glorious splendor cannot be borne, and the wrath of thy threat to sinners is irresistible"; 1QH x 10-12: "Beside Thee there is nothing, and nothing can compare with Thee in strength; in the presence of Thy glory there is nothing, and Thy might is without price. Who among Thy great and marvelous creatures can stand in the presence of Thy glory? How then can he who returns to his dust? For Thy glory's sake alone hast Thou made all these things"; 1QH xii 29-30: "Not even [the wonderful] Heroes [can] declare all Thy glory or stand in the face of Thy wrath, and there is none among them that can answer Thy rebuke; for Thou art just and none can oppose Thee. How then can [man] who returns to dust?"; 4Q510: "...praises. Ben[edictions for the K]ing of glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of ... to the God of knowledge, the Splendour of power, the God of gods, Lord of all the holy. [His] domini[on] is over all the powerful mighty ones and by the power of his might all shall be terrified and shall scatter and be put to flight away by the splendour of the dwelling of his kingly glory." Cf. 1 Enoch 61:1-13; 63:1-12. In each case, the theophany of God's Glory causes a recognition of inadequacy and signifies a ruptured relationship. This inadequacy in the face of the theophanic arrival of God's δόξα in the preaching of the gospel, parallel to δικαιοσύνη and ὀργή, is precisely the focus of Rom. 3:23.

³¹ Brendan Byrne, "Sons of God" - "Seed of Abraham": A Study of the Idea of the Sonship of God of All Christians in Paul against the Jewish Background (AnBib 83; Rome: Biblical Institute Press 1979), 104-108, 122-26; Beker, Paul, 278-83.

³² Morris, *Romans*, 333-34: "So certain is it that it can be spoken of as already accomplished"; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:433: "...the divine decision has

orist tense demonstrates that future glorification into the image of the Son of God begins at conversion and is thus parallel with other of Paul's transference terminology.³³ As Beker sums up: the end is the beginning and the beginning is the end.³⁴ Such a passage, however, spills over into the next register of language in Paul's theological grammar--that of physiomorphic transformation.

In 2 Corinthians 3:18 Paul characterizes the process of transformation into the resurrection likeness/image of Christ as a metamorphosis of Glory (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος). However vexing,³⁵ this verse does permit insight into Paul's understanding of transformation. (1) Transformation is Glory centered; it occurs by beholding/reflecting the Glory of the Lord.³⁶ (2) Ἐικῶν and δόξα partake of the same paradigmatic field: by beholding the resurrected Glory of God in Christ (in the preaching of the gospel), one is transformed into the image of Christ. That is, the revelation of Christ as Glory (ἀπὸ δόξης) inaugurates a process of transformation which ultimately resolves into a final transformation in the Glory of Christ (εἰς δόξαν). God enables and sustains transformational progress by the Glory of Christ. In several texts Paul states that spiritual enablement comes from resurrection Glory (ἵνα δῶ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος

been taken, though its working out has not been consummated"; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 485; cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, 245, who supposes that Paul, though not really representing his own eschatological position, took this over from an "enthusiastic" baptismal formula.

³³ Meeks, *Urban Christians*, 85.

³⁴ Beker, *Paul*, 365.

³⁵ For the latest attempt at unraveling this verse in the argument of 2 Cor. 3-4, consult N. T. Wright, "Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18," *Glory of Christ*, 139-50.

³⁶ No small debate revolves around the translation of the participle κατοπτριζόμενοι. I tend to think the physiomorphic register of language argues for "behold" (in the gospel) rather than "reflect" (in apostolic ministry).

αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, Eph. 3:16; ὁ δὲ θεὸς μου πληρώσει πᾶσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Phil. 4:19; ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι κατὰ τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, Col. 1:11). In all three cases, κατὰ introduces the ground of divine enablement.

At the parousia of Jesus, God will complete the process of transformation by conforming the believer's earthly body to Christ's resurrection body of Glory (ὅς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης, Phil 3:21). The indwelling of the exalted Jesus confirms future glorification: the Christian therefore lives in the certain hope of Glory (καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom. 5:2; ὁ ἐστὶν Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης, Col. 1:27b).³⁷ Despite present suffering, God certifies that sharing Christ's Glory will eclipse any suffering experienced in the earthly life (λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς, Rom. 8:18); indeed, (ironically) present suffering produces future Glory (εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν, Rom. 8:17; τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν, 2 Cor. 4:17).

To sum up: (1) Glory plays various positions in the grammar of Paul's theology. Glory can refer to various events in Paul's foundational story (e.g., a past saving manifestation of God; the resurrection and parousia of Christ) or Glory can sign the narrative itself—it is a gospel of Glory. Glory also refers to the process of sociomorphic transference and to the physiomorphic process of transformation. (2) The functions which Glory plays in Paul's theological grammar were already suggested in the tradition-history of Glory. As was discovered, Glory in the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish writings of the Hellenistic era

³⁷ Beker, *Paul*, 146-49.

employed Glory to speak of divine visitations of God to earth, both to judge and to save and to speak of a future age of salvation and transformation. Glory in narrative horizon of the Hebrew Bible, as mediated by mystical-apocalyptic Judaism, when refracted through the prism of Christophany, suggested to Paul his grammatical use of Glory.

B. GLORY AS A "WORD-ON-TARGET": TWO EXAMPLES

The final task of this study is to demonstrate how a diachronic approach can connect the linguistic universe Paul inherited, that of mystical-apocalyptic Judaism, his Christophany, his theological pattern, the surface symbols and the contingent situations for which Paul drafts a word-on-target. Two passages, 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6 and 1 Corinthians 2:8, have been selected as examples for this reading of Paul.

1. 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6

Paul's clearest, most extensive use of the Glory tradition occurs in 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6.³⁸ Specifically, Paul employs the Sinaitic Glory construal to contrast the revelation of God's כבוד to Moses (Exod. 19; 24; 33-34 LXX) with the revelation of God's δόξα to himself in the Christophany. By comparing and contrasting the two revelations of Glory Paul seeks to legitimize his apostolic authority, establish the eschatological superiority of his gospel and vindicate his life of suffering.

Any number of interrelated problems encumber a precise understanding of 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6--not the least of which is unraveling the apostles' train of thought and precise line of argumentation.³⁹ Though a careful, thoroughgoing analysis of the background of 2 Corinthians would be of immense value, such a detailed analysis lies beyond the scope of the present

³⁸ Kim, *Origin*, 233-39 (especially 237); Segal, *Paul*, 61-62.

³⁹ Consult Scott J. Haffemann, *Suffering and the Spirit* (WUNT 2/19; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1986); and Carol K. Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant* (AnBib 116; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1989).

inquiry.⁴⁰ Some remarks, however, are in order. (1) The central issue of 2 Corinthians revolves around Paul's apostleship. Paul's opponents questioned Paul's authority to preach, the content of his preaching and the way in which he conducted himself. The whole of Paul's apostolic life hung in the balance.⁴¹ (2) Underlying Paul's argument in 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6 is a now unrecoverable tradition alluded to in 3:7-18; whether the character of this tradition was oral and sermonic or

⁴⁰ A decision concerning the integrity of 2 Cor. plays a significant role in interpreting 2:14-7:1. It is now popular to reconstruct from the existing Corinthian correspondence (1, 2 Cor.) the existence of four or five different letters. See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 29-48; and Martin, *2 Corinthians*, xxxviii-lit. Others, based on redactional and rhetorical studies, would argue for even more letter fragments and doublets in what is now preserved as 1 and 2 Cor. For a concise summary (with bibliography), see Brevard S. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 286-89. Following Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 172, Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 41-44, and Martin, *2 Corinthians*, xlv-xlvi, the integrity of 2 Cor. 1-9 is maintained. That is to say, regardless of the tradition-historical background of some parts of 2 Cor. 1-9 (i.e., whether pre-formed tradition was incorporated into the chapters, e.g., 3:9-17; 6:14-7:1) when the letter was penned, it was done so as a unity. 2 Cor. 10-13, if not forming an original part, genetically relates to the Corinthian situation described in chapters 1-9. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 172, notes that if 10-13 form a "second" letter, then it was "sent [only] a few weeks later." Cf. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 55. The proper literary and historical context for interpreting 2:14-7:1 is the letter now preserved as 2 Cor.

⁴¹ The detractors charge Paul with not truly being qualified to be an apostle (ικανός/ικανότης/ικανόω, 2:16; 3:5, 6). Paul does not possess the true, triumphant (θριαμβεύω, 2:14) marks of an apostle. Paul fails to demonstrate stamina (ἐγκακέω, 4:1, 16), courage (θαρρέω, 5:6, 8; cf. 10:1-2), confidence (πεποίθησις, 3:4), and boldness (παρρησία, 3:12; 7:4; cf. 1:15; 8:22; 10:2; Eph. 3:12; Phil. 3:4). Apostles do not suffer, and Paul's suffering (4:8-12) only confirms that he is not a true apostle. Paul does not have the correct letters of reference from the proper (Jerusalem?) authorities; and Paul even fails to render the appropriate kind of recommendation for himself (3:1, 5; 4:5). Paul is accused of being insincere (εἰλικρίνεια, 2:17; cf. 1:12) and crafty (πανουργός, 4:2). Paul (supposedly) peddles or adulterates (καπηλεύω, 2:17; δολιόω, 4:2) God's word in that his preaching is secretive (κρυπτός, 4:2), esoteric, veiled (4:3), which consequently prevents it from being readily understood and accepted (6:3). Though taking the form of many different allegations they did present something of a unified challenge: the charges, inconsistent as they may be or appear to be, all coalesce to undermine Paul's life as an apostle--Paul's authority, preaching, and mission; Ralph Martin, "The Opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians: An Old Issue Revisited," *Tradition and Interpretation*, 280.

documentary and exegetical is difficult to decipher.⁴² (3) While the identity of Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians, or some part of 2 Corinthians, is a hotly debated issue,⁴³ there can be little doubt that the content of the tradition they cherished was Jewish and featured the revelation of God to Moses at Sinai.⁴⁴ Whether Hellenistic divine men, Pharisees from Jerusalem, thoroughgoing apocalypticists or some proto-gnostic group, the opponents appealed to mystical praxis for authority.

A surface reading of the text shows that Paul's complex, highly nuanced argument in 3:4-4:6 points to a linguistic-metaphorical war being waged over reading the Moses

⁴² Hans Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (MeyerK 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924), 112; S. Schulz, "Die Decke des Moses: Untersuchungen zu einer vorpaulinischen Überlieferung in II Cor 3:7-18," *ZNW* 49 (1958): 1-30; and Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 264-71. Windisch, Schulz and Georgi all argue that beneath 3:7-18 as it now stands, is an independent literary unit which can be studied for Paul's redactional additions (see especially Georgi, *Opponents*, 270-71). Ralph Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 58-59, forcefully criticizes such a "document" theory and instead views it as a "synagogue sermon" which Paul had preached on some previous occasion. (Could this previous sermon have concerned the revelation of God's Glory?!) J. A. Fitzmyer, "Glory Reflected on the Face of Christ (2 Cor 3:7-4:6) and a Palestinian Jewish Motif," *TS* 42 (1981): 630-44, also understands the passage as reflecting a "sermon" rather than a "document." By appealing to the motif of "reflecting glory" in 1QH iv 5-6, 27-29, 1QSb iv 24-28, and 1QS ii 2-4, Fitzmyer confirms the midrashic precedent and historical context for Paul to include such a "sermon" in his letter. Though I prefer to translate κατοπτριζόμενοι, Fitzmyer's analysis reinforces the conclusion that 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6 stands squarely in the middle of a long exegetical tradition depending upon the Sinaitic revelation of God's כבוד.

⁴³ Ernst Käsemann, "Die Legitimität des Apostels: Eine Untersuchung zu II. Korinther 10-13," *ZNW* 41 (1942): 33-71; Dieter Georgi, *Opponents*, 1-26, 317-18; C. K. Barrett, "Paul's Opponents in 2 Corinthians," *NTS* 17 (1970/1971): 233-54; E. Earle Ellis, "Paul and his Opponents," *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (WUNT 1/18; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1978), 80-115; Ralph Martin, "Opponents," 279-89; Jerry W. McCant, "Paul's Thorn of Rejected Apostleship," *NTS* 34 (1988): 550-72.

⁴⁴ E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), 199-234; Wayne A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 354-71; Fossum, *Name and Angel*, 83-93, 111-12.

tradition.⁴⁵ The surface symbols of 3:4-4:6 can be organized into a binary structure.

παλαιᾶς διαθήκης	καινῆς διαθήκης
γράμματος	πνεύματος
ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου	ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος
μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι εἰς	κατοπτριζόμενοι
πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως	
μὴ ἀτενίσαι	
μὴ αὐγᾶσαι	
δόξαν ... καταργουμένην	ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης
διακονίᾳ τῆς κατακρίσεως	διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης
κάλυμμα	ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ
μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον	περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα
κάλυμμα ἐπὶ καρδίαν	
κεῖται	
ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς	κηρύσσομεν Ἰησοῦν

Apparently, the opponents employed a mystical tradition surrounding the revelation of God to Moses at Sinai to support a critique of Paul's apostolic authority, his gospel (i.e., his convictional system) and his behavior. Though the opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians are just as wrong (and thus suffer the same sort of eschatological doom, 2 Cor. 2:14-17) as the opponents at Galatia or Philippi, their use of Paul's own scriptural quarry (the Jewish scriptures) and a tradition which Paul values (the Moses tradition), forces Paul to argue from the lesser to the greater (*qal wahomer*)--instead of contrasting the (absolutely) true with (absolutely) false, as in Galatians and Philippians--to (re-)establish the priority of his convictional system.

At stake, then, is the authority to construe convictionally the tradition surrounding the revelation of God to Moses in the most favorable light--indeed, the argument appears thus to be pre-convictional in this sense: what gives one the "authority"? In 3:5 Paul argues that his apostolic authority and competency (ἰκανότης) comes ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ--a phrase parallel to other

⁴⁵ For a discussion which appreciates the metaphorical density of the section, see Hays, *Echoes*, 122-53.

references to Paul's Christophany.⁴⁶ Paul goes on in 3:6 to state emphatically that it was God who "called" him (ἰκάνωσεν)-a direct reference to his Christophany (cf. 1 Cor. 15:9).⁴⁷ The Christophany conferred upon Paul the apostolic authority to construe convictionally the Moses tradition. Since Paul employs the Sinaitic revelation of Glory as a heuristic archetype of his Christophany, the opponents' appeal to Moses actually plays into the hands of Paul.

The opponents' mystical alignment with the Moses tradition conferred upon them the power to reveal (new?) mysteries (their convictional system). Paul counters (and ultimately falsifies) his opponents' position by arguing their authority, rooted in the revelation of God to Moses, is inferior to his (and thus their convictional system inferior to his). He accomplishes this formidable task by comparing and contrasting the revelation of God to Moses with the revelation of God in Jesus to himself.

Paul recognizes that Moses' reception of the law was attended and thus legitimized by God's כבוד-δόξα (2 Cor. 3:7, 9, 11). The series of genitives and datives with the prepositions ἐν and διὰ should all be construed as means: it was by means of the appearances of God's Glory that the covenant (of Death) was established. Paul counters that a revelation of God's δόξα also attended and thus legitimized his stewardship of the gospel (2 Cor. 3:8, 9, 11). The Sinaitic revelation of כבוד to Moses and the Christophanic revelation of δόξα to Paul are thus comparable: in both cases the revelation of Glory serves to legitimize authority.

Paul, however, then contrasts the Sinaitic revelation to Moses with his Christophany. Paul argues for a superior role and message based upon a superior revelation. For Paul the resurrection appearance of Jesus to him, the Christophany, consisted in a revelation of final, eschatological δόξα. The

⁴⁶ Cf. Rom. 1:1, 5; 12:3; 15:15; 1 Cor. 1:1; 3:10; 9:16-17; 15:9-10; 2 Cor. 5:18; 10:8; 13:10; Gal. 1:11, 15; 2:7-9; Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1; Kim, *Origin*, 25-29.

⁴⁷ Georgi, *Opponents*, 231-34.

δόξα which legitimizes Paul's apostleship is a surpassing and final eschatological δόξα. Paul writes (2 Cor. 3:10): "Indeed, in this case, that what once had glory (τὸ δεδοξασμένον) has come to have no glory (οὐ δεδόξασται) at all, because of the glory that surpasses it (ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης)." That which had Glory (the old covenant revealed to Moses which has been co-opted by the powers of Death) pales when compared with the revelation of resurrection Glory in Christ. Furthermore, Paul contends that the Christophanic δόξα which legitimizes his apostleship will not pass away, unlike the δόξα which attended the Mosaic revelation (2 Cor. 3:7: δόξαν ... τὴν καταργουμένην; 2 Cor. 3:13). Neither is the Christophanic δόξα revealed to him tied to "things" which are passing away (2 Cor. 3:11)--i.e., "things" subject to and in the process of eschatological decay (τὸ καταργούμενον).⁴⁸ In defending his apostolic authority, Paul invokes the Christophany as a revelation of eschatological δόξα, a δόξα of a completely different order than the δόξα which attended Moses' reception of the law.

Paul also uses the Sinaitic Glory construal to argue for a superior message. Not only does the final, eschatological δόξα legitimize his apostolic authority, but the Christophanic revelation of δόξα constitutes his gospel. The εὐαγγέλιον which Paul elsewhere so doggedly asserts was received through an ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Gal. 1:12), he defines as consisting in δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ (2 Cor. 4:4). Gospel preaching, because it co-inheres in the cross and proleptic resurrection of Jesus, produces an apocalypse of final, eschatological Glory.

Paul then appropriates the Sinaitic Glory construal to defend his life of suffering (2 Cor. 4:7-18). The cross/resurrection

⁴⁸ Cf. 1 Cor. 2:6: "Yet among the mature we do impart wisdom, although it is not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to pass away." In Paul, καταργέω often connotes an eschatological binary relationship (e.g., Rom. 4:14; 6:6; 7:2, 6; 1 Cor. 1:28; 6:13; 13:8, 10, 11; 15:24, 26; 2 Cor. 3:14; Gal. 3:17; 5:4; and Eph. 2:15; Gerhard Dellling, "Καταργέω," *TDNT*, 1:452-541; Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 170-81.

shape of the gospel, the gospel of the (resurrection) Glory of Christ, determines Paul's paradoxical understanding of missionary praxis. Experiencing the "death of Jesus" through apostolic suffering produces the "life of Jesus." Though the outer nature is wasting away, the inner nature is being renewed (2 Cor. 4:16). The momentary afflictions of this life produce "an eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison" (2 Cor. 4:17). The Christophanic revelation of the exalted Jesus as the Glory of God vindicated Jesus' suffering death and thus confirmed to Paul the viability and necessity of a life of apostolic suffering.

In his appeal to the Christophany as a revelation of δόξα, Paul answers criticisms and launches an attack. (1) By interpretively grounding his apostolic authority in the Christophanic revelation of final, eschatological δόξα, Paul both legitimizes his apostolic authority and demonstrates the inadequacy of his opponents' authority. (2) By interpretively grounding his gospel in and as the Christophanic revelation of final, eschatological δόξα, Paul both invalidates the opponents' teaching and legitimizes the gospel he preaches. (3) By grounding his mission praxis in the Christophanically confirmed death-resurrection, suffering-Glory nature of life, Paul vindicates his suffering and undermines the opponents' triumphant claims. The Christophany as a revelation of final, eschatological δόξα appropriates to Paul the legitimizing power inherent in the Sinaitic Glory construal in order to defend his apostleship--his authority, gospel and practice--and aligns Paul with the long exegetical tradition stemming from Exodus 24.

2. 1 Corinthians 2:8

The historical and exegetical black holes of 1 Corinthians are just as numerous and menacing as those of 2 Corinthians. From the letter it appears that some in the Corinthian community misunderstood the implications of Spirit possession; they believed themselves to have been already eschatologically enriched in pneumatics and gnosis. Such an apocalyptic miscalculation led the Corinthians to boast of (1) self-reliance,

(2) ecstatic praxis and (3) a life style of expediency (manifested in either an ascetic or libertine form). Their self-reliant revelatory prowess fragmented the community; in rallying around certain pneumatic leaders, the church's sociological ligaments of unity and cohesion were stretched to the point of tearing.⁴⁹

It is unlikely that the dissidents were Gnostic, though their position could well lie on a trajectory that resulted in Gnosticism. It is also dubious to argue that Paul, having begun a critique, actually winds up compromising his own position. With Peter Stuhlmacher, it is best to understand Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians as a coherent, linear development.⁵⁰

Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 2:1-16 contains an interesting use of the title τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης--a title which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.⁵¹ Paul is again locked in a protracted convictional argument. A glance at the organization of surface symbols will demonstrate the incommensurability of the two convictional profiles.

ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας	μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ
	Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐσταυρωμένον
ἐν πειθοῦ[ς] σοφίας [λόγου]	ὁ λόγος μου, τὸ κήρυγμά μου
	ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ
ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων	δυνάμει
σοφίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου	ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ
	σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς
ἀρχότων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου	τελείοις
	θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ

⁴⁹ Meeks, *Urban Christians*, 94-96. Paul could no more tolerate a fragmented community in Corinth than he could in Galatia.

⁵⁰ Peter Stuhlmacher, "The Hermeneutical Significance of 1 Cor 2:6-16," *Tradition and Interpretation*, 328-47 (especially 332-34).

⁵¹ Cf. Jam. 2:1 (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης) and Eph. 1:17 (ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης). Glory in Jam. 2:1 can be syntactically construed in one of four ways: (1) with "faith," with (2) "Lord," (3) as an appositive to Christ, or (4) as an adjective; Peter Davids, *The Epistle of James* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 106-107. The third choice makes the best sense of the tradition-history; Robert B. Sloan, "The Christology of James," *CTR* 1 (1986): 3-29 (especially 20-22). Construing δόξης of Eph. 1:17 as a descriptive genitive yields "the glorious Father," while construing the genitive substantively would define Jesus as δόξα. The juxtaposition with "God of our Lord Jesus Christ" reinforces the last alternative. As the God of Jesus Christ he is also the Father of Glory.

The "opponents" proffered a persuasive, plausible message of wisdom--a wisdom, however, genetically tied to this age and emanating from the evil powers of this age. Paul sought continued allegiance to his faith, a mystery of God, which consists in the story about Jesus' crucifixion. In this argument, τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης forms the convictional intersection between Paul and his opponents. Had the convictional system of this present age properly identified the τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης then they would not have engineered his death. Paul, on the other hand, had acquired the proper narratological significance of Jesus' identity: situated between creation and apocalypse, Jesus is the Lord of Glory.

Τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης signs, then, the (previously hidden) significance of Jesus' revelation as the exalted Lord in the saving plan of God. Many have mused about the origins of the phrase. The influence of the LXX,⁵² Davidic kingship tradition⁵³ or some form of Hellenistic religious speculation⁵⁴ has been suspected, though in the case of each no convincing parallel--especially one which fits the specific-contingent argument of 1 Corinthians 2--has been forthcoming. As was noted above in Chapter 4, the exact phrase does appear in the throne vision tradition of 1 Enoch and therefore should be read against the horizon of early Jewish apocalypses.⁵⁵

Like other Glory titles used in early Jewish apocalypses, "Lord of Glory" denotes God or a special, angelic agent seen in a throne vision who executes the eschatological will of God. It

⁵² Neufeld, *Christian Confession*, 58-59.

⁵³ Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 112-23.

⁵⁴ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 68 n. 104, 410; Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 175, 181-82; Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus*, 90-91, 97, 179; Walter Schmittals, *Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 139; Birger A. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul in Its Relation to Gnosticism* (SBLDS 12; Missoula: Scholars/SBL, 1972), 32-34.

⁵⁵ Kittel, *Herrlichkeit*, 199; Jean Héring, *The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Epworth, 1962), 18; Stuhlmacher, "Hermeneutical Significance," 328-32.

can be argued that Paul, on the basis of his Christophany (an experience, by Paul's own testimony, akin to his heavenly vision of 2 Corinthians), identified Jesus as the "Lord of Glory." Several clues in 1 Corinthians divulge that such a conviction fuels the argument of Paul. (1) When the apostle says he preaches the wisdom of God ἐν μυστηρίῳ, he is referring to the visionary disclosure of apocalyptic information about the end-of-time.⁵⁶ Paul contends elsewhere that he was entrusted with this mystery in his Christophany (1 Cor. 4:1; Eph. 3:3, 4). (2) Paul even indicates this in verse 10. The aorist ἀπεκάλυψεν points to a definite point in time, i.e., his Christophany, in which God made known to him the secrets hidden from the ages, the true narrative identity of τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης. The disclosure took place (3) διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος thus echoing the ecstatic experiences of the prophets and apocalyptic seers who regularly refer to the agency of the Spirit in their visions.⁵⁷ (4) Even the use of ἀνέβη evokes a visionary context. Though ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη denotes logical reasoning, ἀναβαίνω elsewhere in Paul, Christianity and early Jewish traditions connotes mystical ascent into the heavens⁵⁸ and, as Conzelmann notes, coheres with the motif of hiddenness and unveiling.⁵⁹ 1 Corinthians 2, therefore, projects a visionary scene and Paul's

⁵⁶ Kim, *Origin*, 74-99; Paul affirms that his preaching of the gospel is a "mystery" (1 Cor. 2:1; Eph. 6:19). The apocalyptic events surrounding Jesus' crucifixion are a "mystery," a mystery which was hidden but now revealed (Rom 15:25; Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:26). The "mystery" refers to the unfolding drama of God's dealing with the world, specifically, (1) God's uniting both Jews and Gentiles into a new community of faith (Rom. 11:25; Eph. 1:9; 5:32); (2) how God will raise the dead, clothing them with a body of Glory (1 Cor. 15:42, 51; Phil. 3:21); and (3) the proleptic experience of future resurrection in the present, the hope of Glory already within believers (Col. 1:27). Such "mysteries" require the presence of spiritual powers to understand (1 Cor. 13:2; 14:2).

⁵⁷ Kim, *Origin*, 78.

⁵⁸ Rom. 10:6; Eph. 4:8-10; John 1:51; 3:13; 6:62; 20:17; Acts 2:34; Rev. 4:1; 7:2; 11:12; Life of Adam and Eve 7:2; 1 Enoch 14:5; T. Abr. [B] 7:14; T. Ben. 9:5; 4 Bar. 3:13; Apoc. Ezra 3:15; Apoc. Sed. 2:2; Sib. Or. 3:100; 5:72; Johannes Schneider, "Βαίνω," *TDNT*, 1:520-21; Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," 1333-94.

⁵⁹ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 63.

identification of Christ as the τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης stands right in the middle of a throne vision trajectory.⁶⁰ How does Paul then harvest such a Christophanic yield?

Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 2 concerns two convictional paradigms--a wisdom of God for the true τελείους and a wisdom proffered by ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (2:6). In their own self-reliant claims to knowledge, gifts and spirit, the Corinthians have been tricked into following a false wisdom which actually still participates in a "this world" structure. Adherence to such a convictional system spells apocalyptic peril for the Corinthians, for both the world structures and those who live in solidarity with them: the ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος (2:14) are suffering eschatological decay (τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, 1:18; καταργουμένων, 2:6). Such a construal basks in apocalyptic ignorance: it cannot ascend into the heavens to acquire knowledge of God (1:10-20; 2:9; cf. Rom. 10:5-13; Eph. 3:8-10) and neither can they receive any information from God (2:10-16). The Corinthians' adoption of another convictional world actually compromises community definition.⁶¹

Paul does affirm that the community of faith is founded by and upon a revelatory knowledge, the wisdom of God (ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, 2:7). By contrasting the revelation which illumed him in the Christophany, i.e., Paul admonishes the Corinthians for their pneumatic ignorance. The "rulers" crucified the "Lord of Glory" whereas Paul rightly divines identity and role of Jesus as τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης in God's dramatic emplotment of salvation. The Christophanically enlightened Paul exposes the abject revelatory poverty of worldly wisdom and thoroughly rhetorical irony seeks to persuade the Corinthians to once again adhere to gospel preaching.⁶²

This chapter sought to describe how Glory functioned in the grammar of Paul's theology. Here it was discovered that Glory

⁶⁰ Kim, *Origin*, 79-80; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 119; Fitzmyer, *Paul*, 30.

⁶¹ Meeks, *Urban Christians*, 92.

⁶² Stuhlmacher, "Hermeneutical Significance," 338.

functions in Paul's convictional world, in sociomorphic portrayal of transference, and in Paul's physiomorphic description of Christian progress.

The chapter also sought to demonstrate how a diachronic approach can connect the various levels in Paul's theological enterprise. Two examples were chosen for this process. In 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6 Paul appropriates the legitimizing power inherent in the Sinaitic Glory construal to compare and contrast his Christophany with his opponents' claim to mystical experience. Paul uses the Glory tradition to legitimize his apostleship and preaching. In 1 Corinthians 2:8 Paul appropriates the narrative horizon of early Jewish apocalyptic throne visions to undermine the Corinthians' boastful claims to revelatory gnosis. Here Paul massages the tradition to achieve rhetorical irony.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

REFLECTIONS ON GLORY AND PAUL

The introduction to this work alluded to the fact that studying the background, origin and use of Glory in Paul may prove to be a good test case for reading Paul in general. It is now time to draw together some of the conclusions reached in previous chapters to show how Glory forms just such a test case.

(1) *Paul inherited a symbolic universe with signs already "full" of signification.* As opposed to neutral signs, the words, phrases and images Paul employed had already acquired a range of meaning. In the case of Glory, this range of meaning relates to the כבוד יהוה tradition preserved in the Jewish scriptures.

Based upon a limited structural semantic analysis, כבוד יהוה in the Hebrew Bible should be considered a technical term. The closely circumscribed group of syntactic constructions employing כבוד יהוה and the less plastic behavior of כבוד יהוה, when compared to other divine presence signifiers, bears witness to the technical nature of כבוד יהוה, and thus lays the necessary groundwork for an investigation of the tradition-history of Glory.

Though depending on older divine presence כבוד language, language which stretches back to traditions about ancient Israel's earliest experiences, כבוד יהוה, in its most precise and technical sense as reflected in "P," first crystallized as a tradition at the beginning of the Davidic monarchy. כבוד יהוה crystallized as a tradition to legitimize the transition from settlement worship to worship under kingship.

Once introduced, the Glory tradition continued to flourish during the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy. In a Royal theology, כבוד יהוה, the visible presence of Yahweh which appeared at the tabernacle, came to signify the unqualified blessing of Yahweh in

all aspects of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom. By addressing kingship, creation, blessing and worship, the Glory tradition powerfully spoke to those who were experiencing the social change associated with the growth of the Davidic monarchy.

In the hands of the prophets, God's כבוד, a sign of approval in a Royal theology, came to re-signify God's judgment. Because of Israel and Judah's failure, the creative and nourishing presence of God withdrew and, through its absence, כבוד became a sign of divine chastisement. The prophets also employed the Glory tradition to proclaim a message of hope. The Lord will one day manifest himself, his כבוד, in order to reconfigure the existence of his people. Judgment and suffering will be replaced by a revelation of Glory, a manifestation which will effect a second exodus, a restoration and recreation. The Glory tradition also played a significant role in the calls of the prophets. In their calls, the prophets were confronted by Glory and had their prophetic mission defined by כבוד.

In the throne visions of early Jewish apocalypses, Glory formed part of the characteristic field of signifiers used to describe the heavens. That is, when a seer peered into the heavens, he saw Glory--whether associated with God, a throne or a special angel. Glory thus denoted and connoted divine and semi-divine beings which populate the heavens. The profound and pervasive influence of Ezekiel's inaugural vision explains how Glory came to have such a diverse signifying power in early Jewish throne visions. The description of the manlike כבוד יהוה in Ezekiel 1:28 impacted the descriptions of God, defined certain angels as divine agents and demonstrated the exalted status of translated patriarchs and heroes. Specifically, the "one like a son of man," the "Son of Man," the "Elect One": each became equated with כבוד יהוה of Ezekiel 1. The sometimes anthropomorphically described כבוד יהוה became the sometimes anthropomorphically described special angelic figure.

But the long exegetical trajectory stemming from Ezekiel's call vision was not the only construal of the variegated Glory tradition to be preserved and nourished during the Hellenistic

era. The early Jewish tradents employed the theophanic, Sinaitic, Royal and prophetic construals of the Glory tradition to speak of both judgment and salvation.

The LXX midwifed the Glory tradition to the Greek speaking churches of the first century. Furthermore, by examining the choice of δόξα as a term for translating כבוד, the LXX also bears witness to the Glory tradition. Because δόξα in Greek literature formed part of the semantic field of words associated with light terminology, visionary revelations and divine epiphanies, the choice of δόξα for כבוד satisfied the criterion of intelligibility, while at the same time preserving the distinctiveness of the Hebrew Bible's descriptions of God's self-manifestations.

Though J. Christiaan Beker is to be thanked for correctly identifying the apocalyptic "surface" symbols which fuel Paul's theology, he functionally treats the symbols as neutral. Paul, however, inherited apocalyptic symbols already "full" of signification. The symbols which Paul employs evoke the narrative horizon of the Hebrew Bible and of early Jewish reflection. One cannot fully perceive the potent signification of Paul's specific utterances without probing the "full" tradition-historical, diachronically acquired meaning built into these symbols and recognizing the re-signifying power of Paul's Christophany. Such a trajectory also guards against over-interpreting the claim that Paul "inherited words already full of signification." The tradition provides Paul with the legitimate interpretive range of a symbol. Paul employed language in the light cast by the tradition, and, in the case of Glory, the light is rather considerable.

(2) *Knowing the diachronically acquired connotative range of a surface symbol aids in discerning Paul's precise contingent strategy.* This can best be seen in the two places where Paul self-consciously echoed the tradition. In 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6 Paul employed the Glory tradition to legitimize his apostleship (his authority, gospel and behavior). Paul appealed to the revelation of Glory at Sinai to draft his word-on-target. In

Exodus 24 and 40, and Leviticus 9, the revelation of Glory served to legitimize Moses, the tabernacle and the installation of the Aaronic priests. Early Jewish tradents also went to the same textual quarry to secure the foundation of their authority. Appeals to Glory served to legitimize a book (Jub. 1:2-4), eschatological revelation (2 Macc. 2:8), the new covenant (1Q34), Moses as both a patriarch and an eschatological teacher (Sir. 45:1-5) and Adam and Eve as ideal "types" (Sir. 17:11-14). Paul, too, planted his feet on the very same ground. Paul appropriated the legitimizing power already present within Glory tradition surrounding Moses, thus accomplishing his rhetorical aims--i.e., to legitimize a new eschatological covenant, a new revelation and himself as a new eschatological interpreter.

1 Corinthians 2:8 also reveals how Paul mined the wealth of the Glory tradition stemming from Ezekiel 1:28. The human form of God's Glory described in Ezekiel's call vision spawned an exegetical-mystical tradition which influenced the visionary depiction of God or angelic beings in a throne vision. As one of the many titles used to refer to an anthropomorphic depiction of God or his chief vizier, τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης of 1 Corinthians 2:8 is best read against this grid of Jewish apocalypses where the special angelic figure seen in a throne vision is entitled "the Lord of Glory" (1 Enoch 63:2). The angelic figures of the Jewish apocalypses, so often defined by Glory, are God's chief agents who execute his mysterious will and plan. Paul parlays this tradition when he speaks of Jesus as the "Lord of Glory": the powers of evil and the wisdom dependent upon such powers were ignorant of the true (previously hidden) plan of God. Had the wisdom of this age been of any eschatological value, it would not have so easily crucified the Christ. Paul, however, had acquired the true (narrative) significance of Jesus as Messiah and Lord and therefore preaches a gospel which features his death and resurrection--a story which is but foolishness to others.

(3) *Knowing the surface symbol's referential power defines and contributes to the "deeper structure" of Paul's theological*

grammar. The net effect of becoming a Christian rearranged Paul's symbolic world; Paul's world was suffused and transformed by an apocalyptic Christology. Paul adopted a new pattern of religion which centered in how God's promises are proleptically fulfilled in Jesus and how incorporation into Jesus enacts a process of eschatological transformation. Paul's Glory language follows suit. Paul employed Glory to invoke the narrative horizon of the Jewish scriptures which tell of God's past and promised visitations. Paul also identifies Jesus as the one who mediated the eschatological Glory of God: parallel to and in the sequence of God's past revelations of Glory, the coming, life, death and resurrection of Jesus mediated Glory. In hearing and believing the message of Jesus, the resurrection power of God, his Glory, engages the believer and enacts the a process of eschatological transformation, a process which ultimately resolves when the believer is finally transformed into the very image of the Son.

(4) *The construals of the Glory tradition coalesced in Paul's Christophany and provide coherence at the "deepest" level of Paul's theological enterprise.* Scholars typically minimize the Christophany by (i) denying that Paul's letters contain numerous and/or significant references to the Christophany; (ii) ignoring the Christophany in lieu of Hellenistic or Rabbinic backgrounds; (iii) transforming the Christophany into a decision for "authentic existence" in response to a Hellenistic gospel; (iv) analyzing the Christophany for psychological and/or sociological insight into Paul's conversion/transformation; (v) reducing the Christophany to only a commission to extend Judaism to the gentiles; and (vi) exploding the Christophany into the source and the catalyst for all of Paul's theology. Paul's literary coordination of Christophany, gospel and parousia argues for understanding Christophany as resurrection.

Since Glory denoted the resurrection age, it naturally became a sign of Christophany, the beginning of resurrection. In fact, the Christophany was the origin of Paul's δόξα-Christology, for Paul interpreted the Christophany in light of the tradition-history

of Glory. In Paul's convictional interpretation of the Christophany, the various strands of the Glory tradition coalesce. Paul echoed the Glory tradition in his interpretation of the Christophany as a (i) theophany of δόξα, (ii) a Sinai-like revelation of כבוד יהוה, (iii) as the Davidic Messiah's exaltation to Glory, (iv) as a fulfillment of the prophetic promise that God would inaugurate the new age with a revelation of his כבוד, (v) as a prophetic call in which he was confronted by the Glory of God, and (vi) as an apocalyptic throne vision in which he saw the principal agent of God, the manlike כבוד יהוה of Ezekiel 1:28. Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα centers upon the convergence of multiple construals of the Glory tradition in his interpretation of the Christophany.

Paul's theological enterprise is, in fact, consistent at its deepest level. Paul's thinking, despite what some may claim, is not inconsistent, but a παράδοξος. Paul is strangely and wonderfully surprised by resurrection--how could it be that the end-of-time resurrection Glory appeared before the end of time? Truly, unravelling the knotty problem reading Paul is like solving a good murder mystery.¹ In the emplotment of Paul's theological story, the Christophany therefore acquires a unique role as the end, the end which inaugurates and structures the whole. As a sign of the end of life (i.e., resurrection) the Christophany provides structure at the deepest level of Paul's theological agenda. The Christophany becomes the semiotic clue which helps to explain Paul's paradoxical coherence.

One may now ask with profit why Paul interpreted his Christophany in such a manner. What led him to the Glory tradition? Certainly, there must be some continuity between "event" and "interpretation"--if Paul is to be understood at all. In his description, Paul no doubt chose language appropriate to the (now unrecoverable) event. The conclusion, therefore, that the Christophany in fact consisted in a revelation of God's Glory merits serious consideration. The time is now past to dismiss

¹ Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*, 23-28.

out of hand such "experiences," for not only did such "experiences" occur, but they contributed to religious innovation. As Larry W. Hurtado writes:

This explanation of the Christian mutation, as based on religious experiences that had creative effects upon the interpretation of the inherited tradition, is not usually offered in much scholarly writing on Christian origins. But such an explanation, I suggest, not only accords with the information we have about the nature of early Christian groups but also helps to account for the sudden and rapid development of christological beliefs and Christ-oriented devotional practices within the first decades of the Christian movement.²

Could it be that the ultimate (historical) rationale of Paul's interpretation of his Christophany as a revelation of God's final eschatological δόξα satisfies because that is actually what happened? At the very least, the Christophany as a revelation of Glory left a literary residue: in Paul's interpretation of the Christophany, God's Glory appeared in the once crucified, but now resurrected person of Jesus. I submit this thesis best explains Paul's use of δόξα.

² Hurtado, *One Lord, One God*, 122.

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